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114. as to the above to Mrs.:

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121. by letter

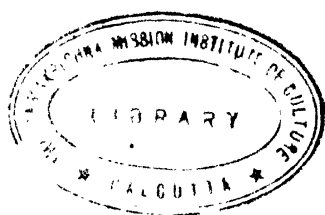
122. vide letter above.

123. difficult.

124. Singh of Morapoor.

125. as to inquiry of the above.





THE
POETICAL WORKS
OF
JOHN MILTON.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

CONTAINING

THE LAST SIX BOOKS OF PARADISE LOST.
PLANS OF PARADISE LOST AS A TRAGEDY.

LONDON,

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C O N T E N T S.

PARADISE LOST,

The last six Books, with Plans of Paradise Lost as a Tragedy.

THE
SEVENTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

VOL. III.

B

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael, at the request of Adam, relates how and wherefore this world was first created ; that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declared his pleasure to create another world, and other creatures to dwell therein ; sends his Son with glory, and attendance of Angels, to perform the work of Creation in six days : the Angels celebrate with hymns the performance thereof, and his reascension into Heaven.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VII.

DEscend from Heaven, Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art call'd, whose voice divine
Following, above the Olympian hill I soar,
Above the flight of Pegasus wing.
The meaning, not the name, I call: for thou ;
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top

Ver. 1. *Descend from Heaven, Urania,*] “Descende cælo,”
Hor. *Od.* iii. iv. 1. But here it is better applied, as now his
subject leads him from Heaven to Earth.

The word *Urania* in Greek signifies *heavenly*; and he invokes
the *heavenly Muse* as he had done before, B. i. 6. And as he
had said in the beginning that he *intended to soar above the
Aonian mount*, so now he says very truly that he had effected
what he intended, and *soars above the Olympian hill, above the
flight of Pegasus wing*, that is, his subject was more sublime
than the loftiest flight of the heathen poets. NEWTON.

Ver. 5. ————— *for thou*
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwell'st; but, heavenly-born,] Tasso,
in his invocation, has the same sentiment, *Gier. Lib. c. i. st. 2.*

“O Musa, tu, che di caduchi allori
“Non circondi la fronte *in Helicon*;
“Ma sù nel cielo infra i beati chori
“Hai di stelle immortali aurea corona,” **THYER,**

Of old Olympus dwell'd; but, heavenly-born,
 Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd,
 Thou with eternal Wisdom didst converse,
 Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst play 10
 In presence of the Almighty Father, pleas'd
 With thy celestial song. Up led by thee
 Into the Heaven of Heavens I have presum'd,
 An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air,

Ver. 7. *Of old Olympus*] Some would read "*cold Olym-*
pus," as in B. i. 516. But Milton calls it *old*, as being famed
 of old and long celebrated. So, in B. i. 420, he says "*old*
Euphrates," and, in B. ii. 593, "*Mount Casius old*."

NEWTON.

Ver. 8. *Before the hills appear'd, &c.*] From *Prov.* viii.
 24, 25, and 30, where the phrase of Wisdom always *rejoicing*
 before God, is *playing*, according to the Vulgar Latin, "*ludens*
coram eo omni tempore," to which Milton alludes, v. 10. And
 so he quotes it likewise in his *Tetrachordon*: "God himself
 conceals not his own recreations before the world was built; *I*
was, saith the eternal Wisdom, *daily his delight*, *PLAYING* *always*
before him." NEWTON.

So Spenser, in his *Hymn* of heavenly Beauty, having described
 the throne of God, thus proceeds, v. 183.

"There in his bosom *Sapience* doth sit,

"The *sovereign darling* of the Deity."

Ver. 14. ——— and drawn empyreal air,

Thy tempering:] This is said in allusion to the
 difficulty of respiration on high mountains. This *empyreal air*
 was too pure and fine for him, but the heavenly Muse *tempered*
 and qualified it so, as to make him capable of breathing in it:
 which is a modest and beautiful way of bespeaking his reader to
 make favourable allowances for any failings he may have been
 guilty of, in treating of so sublime a subject. NEWTON.

Thy tempering: with like safety guided down 15
 Return me to my native element:
 Left from this flying steed unrein'd, (as once
 Bellerophon, though from a lower clime,)
 Dismounted, on the Aleian field I fall,
 Erroneous there to wander, and forlorn. 20
 Half yet remains unſung, but narrower bound

Ver. 15. *Thy tempering*:] Dr. Bentley makes himſelf very merry in his inſulting manner, with the word *tempering*, and calls it the printer's blunder; but I think the following application of it in Spenser may juſtify both printer and poet, *Faery Queen*, ii. ii. 39.

“ Thus fairly ſhe *attempered* her ſeaſt,

“ And pleas'd them all with meet ſatiety.”

I agree with the Doctör that *thee* is better than *thy tempering*.

THYER.

Ver. 18. *Bellerophon*, &c.] Pope remarks, that Milton has interwoven the *offence* of Bellerophon with Homer's relation of this valiant youth, in the ſixth *Iliad*. Endeavouring to mount up to heaven on the winged horſe Pegasus, he fell upon the *Aleian fields*, where he wandered till he died. In Homer, his wanderings are attributed to a diſtracted mind. And Dr. Newton obſerves, that the plain truth of the ſtory ſeems to be, that, in his latter days, he grew mad with his poetry; which Milton begs may never be his own caſe: “ Left from *this* flying ſteed &c. :” And he ſays *this*, to diſtinguiſh his from the common Pegasus, “ above the ſlight of whoſe wing he ſoared,” as he ſpeaks, v. 4.

Ver. 21. *Half yet remains unſung*,] I underſtand this with Mr. Richardſon, that it is the half of the epiſode, not of the whole work, that is here meant; for, when the poem was divided into but ten books, that edition had this paſſage at the beginning of the ſeventh as now. The epiſode has two principal parts, the war in Heaven, and the new Creation; the one was ſung, but the other remained unſung, and he is now entering upon it—

Within the visible diurnal sphere ;
 Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole,
 More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
 To hoarse or mute, though fall'n on evil days, 25
 On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues ;
 In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round,
 And solitude ; yet not alone, while thou
 Visit'st my slumbers nightly, or when morn
 Purples the east: still govern thou my song, 30
 Urania, and fit audience find, though few.

but narrower bound. Bound here seems to be a participle as well as *unfang*. Half yet remains unfung ; but this other half is not rapt so much into the invisible world as the former, it is confined in narrower compass, and bound within the visible sphere of day. NEWTON.

Ver. 25. ———— *though fall'n on evil days,*

On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues ;] The repetition and turn of the words is very beautiful. A lively picture this, in a few lines, of the poet's wretched condition. 'Though he was blind, *in darkness ; and with dangers compass'd round, and solitude*, obnoxious to the government, and having a world of enemies among the royal party, and therefore obliged to live very much in privacy and alone ; he was not become *hoarse or mute*. And what strength of mind was it, that could not only support him under the weight of these misfortunes, but enable him to soar to such heights, as no human genius ever reached before ? NEWTON.

Ver. 29. *Visit'st my slumbers nightly,*] The poet might here remember the nightly visions of Beatrice to Dante, *Purgatorio*, c. xxx. 133. However, see Mr. Warton's note on *Eleg.* v. 6.

Ver. 31. ———— *and fit audience find, though few.*] He had Horace in mind, *Sat.* i. x. 73.

———" neque te ut miretur turba, labores,

" Contentus paucis lectoribus." NEWTON.

But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
 Of Bacchus and his revellers, the race
 Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard
 In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears 35
 To rapture, till the savage clamour drown'd
 Both harp and voice; nor could the Muse defend
 Her son. So fail not thou, who thee implores:
 For thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.

Say, Goddefs, what ensued when Raphaël, 40
 The affable Arch-Angel, had forewarn'd

Ver. 32. ——— *the barbarous dissonance*] *Comus*, v. 550.

“ The wonted roar was up amidst the woods,

“ And fill'd the air with *barbarous dissonance*.”

WARTON.

Ver. 33. *Of Bacchus and his revellers,*] It is not improbable, that the poet intended this as an oblique satire upon the dissoluteness of Charles the Second and his Court; from whom he seems to apprehend the fate of Orpheus, who, though he is said to have charmed woods and rocks with his divine songs, was torn to pieces by the Bacchanalian women on Rhodope, a mountain of Thrace; nor could the Muse Calliope, his mother, defend him.

So fail not thou, who thee implores: Nor was his wish ineffectual; for the Government suffered him to live and die unmolested. NEWTON.

Ver. 35. ——— *where woods and rocks had ears*

To rapture,] Horace, *Od.* i. i. 11.

——— “ *auritas fidibus canoris*

“ *Ducere quercus.*”

Ver. 38. — *So fail not thou, who thee implores:*] The ellipsis here is like that of the word *illa* in Virgil, where he says, *Ecl.* ii. 23.

“ *Canto quæ solitus, si quando armenta vocaret.*”

LORD MONBODDO.

Adam, by dire example, to beware
 Apostasy, by what befel in Heaven
 To those apostates; lest the like befall
 In Paradise to Adam or his race, 45
 Charg'd not to touch the interdicted tree,
 If they transgress, and slight that sole command,
 So easily obey'd amid the choice
 Of all tastes else to please their appetite,
 Though wandering. He, with his comforted
 Eve, 50
 The story heard attentive, and was fill'd
 With admiration and deep muse, to hear
 Of things so high and strange; things, to their
 thought
 So unimaginable, as hate in Heaven,
 And war so near the peace of God in bliss, 55
 With such confusion: but the evil, soon
 Driven back, redounded as a flood on those
 From whom it sprung; impossible to mix
 With blessedness. Whence Adam soon repeal'd
 The doubts that in his heart arose: and now 60
 Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know

Ver. 50. ————— *with his comforted Eve,*] *Con-*
forted from consort, "Cum consorte tori," as Ovid says, *Met.*
 i. 319. NEWTON.

Ver. 59. ————— *Whence Adam soon repeal'd*
The doubts] Dr. Bentley would read *dispell'd*;
 but, if an alteration were necessary, I should rather read *repell'd*.
 But in the same sense as a law is said to be *repeal'd*, when an
 end is put to all the force and effect of it; so, when *doubts* are
 at an end, they may said to be *repeal'd*. PEARCE.

What nearer might concern him, how this world
 Of Heaven and Earth conspicuous first began;
 When, and whereof created; for what cause;
 What within Eden, or without, was done 65
 Before his memory; as one whose drouth
 Yet scarce allay'd still eyes the current stream,
 Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites,
 Proceeded thus to ask his heavenly guest.

Great things, and full of wonder in our ears, 70
 Far differing from this world, thou hast reveal'd,
 Divine interpreter! by favour sent
 Down from the empyrean, to forewarn
 Us timely of what might else have been our loss,
 Unknown, which human knowledge could not
 reach:

For which to the infinitely Good we owe 76
 Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
 Receive, with solemn purpose to observe
 Immutably his sovran will, the end
 Of what we are. But since thou hast vouchsaf'd
 Gently, for our instruction, to impart 81
 Things above earthly thought, which yet concern'd

Our knowing, as to highest wisdom seem'd,

Ver. 69. *Proceeded thus &c.*] The construction is, "And, led on with desire to know &c., proceeded thus to ask his heavenly guest." NEWTON.

Ver. 72. *Divine interpreter!*] So Mercury is called in Virgil, "*Interpres divom*," Æn. iv. 378. NEWTON.

Ver. 83. *Our knowing,*] Mr. Stillingfleet considers this as a peculiar idiom of the English tongue for *us to know*.

Deign to descend now lower, and relate
 What may no less perhaps avail us known, 85
 How first began this Heaven which we behold
 Distant so high, with moving fires adorn'd
 Innumerable; and this which yields or fills
 All space, the ambient air wide interfus'd
 Embracing round this florid Earth; what cause
 Mov'd the Creator, in his holy rest 91
 Through all eternity, so late to build
 In Chaos; and the work begun, how soon
 Absolv'd; if unforbid thou may'st unfold

Ver. 88. ——— *and this which yields or fills*

All space,] Yields space to all bodies, and again
 fills up the deserted space so as to be subservient to motion.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 89. ——— *the ambient air wide interfus'd]* *Ambient interfus'd* denotes the air not only surrounding the earth, but flowing into, and spun out between, all bodies; and is a fuller and finer notation of its liquid and spiritual texture, leaving no vacuum in nature, than that of Ovid, *Met. i. 12.*

“Nec circumfuso pendeat in ære tellus.” HUME.

Ver. 92. ——— *so late to build]* It is a question that has been often asked, *Why God did not create the world sooner?* But the same question might be asked, if the world had been created at any time; for still there were infinite ages before that time. And that can never be a just exception against this time, which holds equally against all time. It must be resolved into the good will and pleasure of Almighty God: But there is a farther reason, according to Milton's hypothesis; which is, that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declared his pleasure to supply their place, by creating another world, and other creatures to dwell therein. NEWTON.

Ver. 94. *Absolv'd;]* Finished, completed, perfected, from the Latin, *absolutus.* RICHARDSON.

What we, not to explore the secrets ask 95
 Of his eternal empire, but the more
 To magnify his works, the more we know.
 And the great light of day yet wants to run
 Much of his race though steep; suspense in
 Heaven, 99

Ver. 97. *To magnify his works,*] *Job*, xxxvi. 24. "Remember that thou *magnify his work* which men behold."

GILLIES.

Ver. 98. *And the great light of day yet wants to run &c.*] Our author has improved upon Homer, *Odysf.* xi. 372, where Alcinous, by the same sort of arguments, endeavours to persuade Ulysses to continue his narration; only there it was night, and here the scene is by day.

Νῦξ δ' ἴδι μάλα μακρὴ ἀθίσφαται· ἐδὲ πῶ ὥρη
 Εὐδὲιν ἐν μετάρῳ· ὣ δὲ μοι λείπεται θίσκεια ἔρτα.
 Καὶ κεν ἐς ἡὼ δῖαν ἀνασχέμην——

Mr. Thyer is of opinion, that there is not a greater instance of our author's exquisite skill in the art of poetry, than this and the following lines. There is nothing more, really to be expressed, than Adam's telling Raphael his desire to hear the continuance of his relation; and yet the poet, by a series of strong and noble figures, has worked it up into half a score of as fine lines as any in the whole poem. Lord Shaftsbury has observed, that Milton's beauties generally depend upon solid thought, strong reasoning, noble passion, and a continued thread of moral doctrine; but in this place he has shown what an exalted fancy, and mere force of poetry, can do. NEWTON.

Ver. 99. ———— *suspense in Heaven,*

Held by thy voice, thy potent voice, he hears,] We have here altered the punctuation of the first editions, which was thus,

—————"suspense in Heaven

"Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he hears,"

for after it is said *he is held suspense in Heaven by thy voice, to say he hears thy voice* is poor and low indeed. He must hear it

Held by thy voice, thy potent voice, he hears,
 And longer will delay to hear thee tell
 His generation, and the rising birth
 Of Nature from the unapparent Deep :
 Or if the star of evening and the moon 104
 Hasten to thy audience, Night with her will bring
 Silence; and Sleep, listening to thee, will watch;
 Or we can bid his absence, till thy song
 End, and dismiss thee ere the morning shine.

Thus Adam his illustrious guest befought :
 And thus the Godlike Angel answer'd mild. 110
 This also thy request, with caution ask'd,

before he can be held by it. We have therefore followed the punctuation of Dr. Pearce; and the sense seems plain, as he has pointed these verses, *Held by thy potent voice, he hears suspense in Heaven*, that is, he stops and hearkens, he stays and is attentive. The poets often feign the rivers to stop their course, and other inanimate parts of nature to hear the songs of Orpheus and the like, Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 4.

“ Et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus.”

Nay, charms and verses can bring the moon down from Heaven,

“ Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere lunam :” ver. 69.

and well therefore may Milton suppose the sun to *delay, suspended in Heaven, to hear the Angel tell his generation*, and especially since we read that the sun did stand still at the voice of Joshua.

NEWTON.

Ver. 103. ——— *the unapparent Deep :*] Where *nothing was to be seen*, according to Gen. i. 2. “ Darkness was upon the face of the Deep.” HUME.

Ver. 108. End, and dismiss thee] Of the same construction, as “ *stood and look'd,*” B. ii. 917, for *standing look'd*; where see Dr. Pearce's note. So here, “ Till thy song ending dismiss thee.”

Obtain; though to recount almighty works
 What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice,
 Or heart of man suffice to comprehend?
 Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve
 To glorify the Maker, and infer 116
 Thee also happier, shall not be withheld
 Thy hearing; such commission from above
 I have receiv'd, to answer thy desire
 Of knowledge within bounds; beyond, abstain
 To ask; nor let thine own inventions hope 121

Ver. 112. ——— *though to recount almighty works*
What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice,] Compare B. vi. 297, 298. And Homer, *Il.* xii. 176.

Ἀγαλίου ὃς με ταῦτα, θεὸν ὦς, πάντα ἀγορεύσαι.

Ver. 116. ——— *and infer*
Thee also happier,] And *by inference* make thee happier. NEWTON.

Ver. 121. ——— *nor let thine own inventions hope*] Milton seems here to allude to *Ecclef.* vii. 20. "They have sought out many *inventions*;" which commentators explain by *reasonings*. No need then for Dr. Bentley's *conceptions*. PEARCE.

So, in *Psal.* cvi. 29. "Thus they provoked him to anger with their own *inventions*," and ver. 38. "And went a whoring with their own *inventions*."

The two following lines are almost a literal translation of these two in Horace, *Od.* iii. xxix. 29.

"Prudens futuri temporis exitum

"Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus," THYER.

Ibid. ——— *nor let thine own inventions hope*
Things not reveal'd, &c.] Compare Homer, *Iliad*
 i. 545.

Ἦεν, μὴ δὲ πᾶντας ἱμῶς ἙΠΕΛΑΠΕΟ μύθους
 Εἰδῆσιν· κ. τ. λ.

See also *Job*, v. 9.

Things not reveal'd, which the invifible King,
 Only Omnifcient, hath fuppreſs'd in night;
 To none communicable in Earth or Heaven:
 Enough is left beſides to ſearch and know. 125
 But knowledge is as food, and needs no leſs
 Her temperance over appetite, to know
 In meaſure what the mind may well contain;
 Oppreſſes elſe with ſurfeit, and ſoon turns
 Wiſdom to folly, as nourifhment to wind. 130

Know then, that, after Lucifer from Heaven
 (So call him, brighter once amidſt the hoſt
 Of Angels, than that ſtar the ſtars among,)
 Fell with his flaming legions through the deep
 Into his place, and the great Son return'd 135
 Victorious with his Saints, the Omnipotent

Ver. 122. ———— *the invifible King,*] As God is ſtyled in 1 *Tim.* i. 17. “the invifible King,” ſo this is the properſt epithet that could have been employed here, when he is ſpeaking of *things not reveal'd, ſuppreſs'd in night, to none communicable in Earth or Heaven*, neither to Men nor Angels; as it is ſaid of the day of judgement, *Mat.* xxiv. 36. “Of that day and hour knoweth no Man, no, not the Angels of Heaven, but my Father only.” NEWTON.

Ver. 129. ———— *and ſoon turns*
Wiſdom to folly, as nourifhment to wind.] This is a fine commentary upon the words of St. Paul, 1 *Cor.* viii. 1. “Knowledge puffeth up.” So, in his *Doctr. and Diſcipl. of Divorce*, he ſpeaks of knowledge, which, “proving but of *bad nourifhment* in the concoction, as it was heedleſs in the devouring, *puffs up* unhealthily a certain big face of pretended learning, &c.”

Ver. 135. *Into his place,*] As the traitor Judas is ſaid to go “to his own place,” *Acts* i. 25. NEWTON.

Eternal Father from his throne beheld
Their multitude, and to his Son thus spake.

At least our envious Foe hath fail'd, who
thought

All like himself rebellious, by whose aid 140

This inaccessible high strength, the feat

Of Deity supreme, us disposse's'd,

He trusted to have seis'd, and into fraud

Drew many, whom their place knows here no
more :

Yet far the greater part have kept, I see, 145

Ver. 139. *At least*] I do not like taking liberties with the
original text, or else I should choose to read "*At last*."

THYER.

Ver. 143. ————— *and into fraud*

Drew many,] *Fraud*, in common acceptation,
means no more than deceit; but often signifies misfortune.
Milton, who so constantly makes Latin or Greek of English,
does it here, and extends the idea to the misery, the punishment,
consequent upon the deceit, as well as the deceit itself. So that
Satan is said here, not only to have drawn many into fraud, not
only that he

—————"allur'd them, and with lies

"Drew after him the third part of Heaven's host,"

as in B. v. 709; but that he ruined as well as cheated them,
B. i. 609.

"Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc'd

"Of Heaven, and from eternal splendours flung

"For his revolt." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 144. ————— *whom their place knows here no more:*] A
Scripture expression; *Job*, vii. 10. "Neither shall his place
know him any more." And see *Psalms* ciii. 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 145. ————— *have kept, I see,*

Their station;] Another Scripture expression,

Their station ; Heaven, yet populous, retains
 Number sufficient to possess her realms
 Though wide, and this high temple to frequent
 With ministeries due, and solemn rites :
 But, lest his heart exalt him in the harm 150
 Already done, to have dispeopled Heaven,
 My damage fondly deem'd, I can repair
 That detriment, if such it be to lose
 Self-lost ; and in a moment will create
 Another world, out of one man a race 155
 Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
 Not here ; till, by degrees of merit rais'd,
 They open to themselves at length the way
 Up hither, under long obedience tried ; 159
 And Earth be chang'd to Heaven, and Heaven to
 Earth,

Jude 6. " The angels which *kept* not their first *estate*." Waller, in his Vindication of himself, alters *estate* as Milton has done : " Those angels that *kept* not their first *station*," p. 299.

Ver. 154. ——— *and in a moment*] Milton seems to favour the opinion of some divines, that God's creation was instantaneous, but the effects of it were made visible and appeared in six days, in condescension to the capacities of Angels ; and is so related by Moses, in condescension to the capacities of Men.

NEWTON.

Ver. 160. *And Earth be chang'd to Heaven, and Heaven to Earth,*] Milton's meaning seems to have been this, That Earth would be so happy in being inhabited by obedient creatures, that it would be *changed to i. e. resemble* Heaven ; and Heaven, by receiving those creatures, would in this resemble Earth, that it would be stocked with men for its inhabitants.

PEARCE.

One kingdom, joy and union without end.
 Mean while inhabit lax, ye Powers of Heaven ;
 And thou my Word, begotten Son, by thee
 This I perform ; speak thou, and be it done !
 My overshadowing Spirit and Might with thee
 I send along ; ride forth, and bid the Deep 166
 Within appointed bounds be Heaven and Earth ;
 Boundless the Deep, because I Am who fill

Or thus in short, the Angels frequently visiting Earth, and Men being translated to Heaven. NEWTON.

Ver. 162. *Mean while inhabit lax,*] Dwell more at large, there being more room now than there was before the rebel Angels were expelled, or than there will be after Men are translated to Heaven. If this be the meaning, we cannot much commend the beauty of the sentiment, as it intimates that the Angels might be straitened for room in Heaven. NEWTON.

Ver. 163. ————— *by thee*

This I perform ;] See *Col. i. 16.* And observe the force and propriety of the *present* tense for the *future* ; for, as Mr. Stillingfleet also notes, “ *Immediate* are the acts of God,” v. 176.

Ver. 165. *My overshadowing Spirit*] Luke i. 35. “ The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall *overshadow* thee.”

The Spirit of God co-operated in the creation, *Gen. i. 2,* and therefore is here said to be *sent along* with the Son. NEWTON.

Ver. 166. ————— *and bid the Deep*

Within appointed bounds *be Heaven and Earth ;*] So, in B. iii. 548.

————— “ where bounds were set

“ To darkness, *such as bound the ocean wave.*”

The *bounds of the sea* is a Scripture phrase. See *Jer. v. 22.* and *Psal. civ. 9.*

Ver. 168. *Boundless the Deep, &c.*] The sense is, the Deep is boundless, but the space contained in it is not vacuous and empty, because there is an infinitude, and I fill it. Though I,

Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.

Though I, uncircumscrib'd myself, retire, 170

And put not forth my goodness, which is free

To act or not, Necessity and Chance

Approach not me, and what I will is Fate.

So spake the Almighty, and to what he spake

His Word, the Filial Godhead, gave effect. 175

Immediate are the acts of God, more swift

who am myself uncircumscribed, set bounds to my goodness, and do not exert it every where, yet neither Necessity nor Chance influence my actions, &c. PEARCE.

Ver. 173. ——— and what I will is Fate.] From
Lucan, v. 91.

—————“ Deus magnusque potensque

“ Sive canit fatum, seu quod jubet ipse canendo

“ Fit fatum.” BENTLEY.

Or from Statius, *Theb.* i. 212.

—————“ grave et immutabile sanctis

“ Pondus adest verbis, et vocem fata sequuntur.”

JORTIN.

An expression borrowed from Tasso, where Satan, mimicking the Deity, says to his followers,

“ Sia destin ciò, ch' io voglio”——

Gier. Lib. c. iv. st. 17.

Or rather from Claudian, *De Rapt. Prof.* ii. 306.

“ Sit fatum quodcunque voles”—— THYER.

Perhaps the *speech* of the Deity in Plato's *Timæus* might be now also in Milton's mind: *Θεοὶ δὲ οὗτοι, ὡς ἰσὺ δεινουργοί, πατρὸς τε ἱγρῶν, & δὲ ἑαυτὸν γινώσκοντες, ΑΑΤΤΑ, ΕΜΟΙ γὰρ ΘΕΑΟΝΤΟΣ.* Platon. Opp. edit. Serran. tom. iii. 41. This dialogue appears to have been often consulted by Milton, in his account of the creation. See Mr. Thyer's note, B. iii. 713; and the notes on ver. 505, and ver. 548, of this book.

Than time or motion, but to human ears
 Cannot without procéss of speech be told,
 So told as earthly notion can receive.
 Great triumph and rejoicing was in Heaven, 180
 When such was heard declar'd the Almighty's
 will ;

Glory they sung to the Most High, good will
 To future men, and in their dwellings peace :
 Glory to Him, whose just avenging ire
 Had driven out the ungodly from his sight 185
 And the habitations of the just ; to Him
 Glory and praise, whose wisdom had ordain'd
 Good out of evil to create ; instead
 Of Spirits malign, a better race to bring
 Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse 190
 His good to worlds and ages infinite.

So sang the Hierarchies : Mean while the Son
 On his great expedition now appear'd,
 Girt with Omnipotence, with radiance crown'd

Ver. 182. *Glory they sung to the Most High, &c.*] The Angels are very properly made to sing the same divine song to usher in the creation, which they did to usher in the second creation by Jesus Christ, *Luke ii. 14.* And we cannot but approve Dr. Bentley's emendation, *Glory they sung to God Most High*, instead of *to the Most High* ; as it improves the measure of the verse, is more opposed to *men* immediately following, and agrees better with the words of St. Luke, "*Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 192. *So sang the Hierarchies :*] The three orders of Angels are also represented as formed into distinct choirs, and singing Hosannas to the Highest, in Dante's *Paradiso*, c. xxviii.

Of Majesty Divine ; sapience and love
 Immenſe, and all his Father in him ſhone. 196
 About his chariot numberleſs were pour'd
 Cherub, and Seraph, Potentates, and Thrones,
 And Virtues, winged Spirits, and chariots wing'd
 From the armoury of God ; where ſtand of old
 Myriads, between two brazen mountains lodg'd
 Againſt a ſolemn day, harneſs'd at hand, 202
 Celeſtial equipage ; and now came forth
 Spontaneous, for within them Spirit liv'd,
 Attendant on their Lord : Heaven open'd wide
 Her ever-during gates, harmonious found 206
 On golden hinges moving, to let forth

Ver. 197. *About his chariot numberleſs were pour'd*
Cherub, and Seraph,] Dr. Bentley calls “ Cherub
pour'd” an aukward expreſſion : But yet we read in B. ii. 997,
 ————— “ Heaven-gates
 “ *Pour'd* out by millions her victorious bands.”

And, in *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 310,

——— “ and ſaw what numbers numberleſs
 “ The city gates out *pour'd*.”

And ſo, in Virgil, *Æn.* i. 214. “ *Fuſi per herbam.*” Again,
Æn. vii. 812. “ *Agris effuſa juventus.*” And frequently elſe-
 where. But the word *pour'd* has ſtill more propriety here, as it
 ſhows the readineſs and forwardneſs of the Angels to attend the
 Meſſiah's expedition : they were ſo earneſt as not to ſtay to form
 themſelves into regular order, but were *POUR'D numberleſs about*
his chariot. PEARCE.

Ver. 207. *On golden hinges moving,*] The doors of Armida's
 palace turn on golden hinges, Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvi. ſt. 2.

“ Le porte quì d' effigiato argento,
 “ *Sù i cardini ſtridean di lucid' oro.*”

The King of Glory, in his powerful Word
 And Spirit, coming to create new worlds.
 On heavenly ground they stood; and from the
 shore

210

They view'd the vast immeasurable abyfs
 Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild,
 Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds
 And furling waves, as mountains, to assault
 Heaven's highth, and with the center mix the
 pole.

215

Ver. 211. *They view'd &c.*] Milton's description of God the Son and his attendant Angels viewing the vast unmeasurable abyfs &c. has a great resemblance to the following passage in Vida, *Christ. Lib. i.*

" Hic superùm Sator informem speculatus acervum,
 " Æternam noctemque, indigestumque profundum,
 " Primum videbatur moliri exordia rerum
 " Ipse micans radiis, ac multâ luce coruscus."

And that he had this in his eye is I think the more probable, because his account of the creation of light and its being afterwards transplanted into the sun's orb, which was not yet created, carries a strong allusion to the succeeding lines,

" Jamque videbatur fulvâ de nube creare
 " Stelligeri convexa poli, terrâque, fretumque,
 " Et lucem simul undivagam, mox unde micantes
 " Et solis radios, et cœli accenderet ignes." THYER.

Ver. 214. *And furling waves,*] I think, with Dr. Newton, that this is an instance of *and* having been misprinted for *in*, and that we should read "*In* furling waves;" for it seems better, as the doctor observes, to say of the sea, "Up from the bottom turn'd *in* furling waves," than "Up from the bottom turn'd *by* furling waves." See also note on *Comus*, v. 325.

Ver. 215. ——— *and with the center mix the pole.*] It is certain that in Chaos was neither center nor pole; so neither

Silence, ye troubled Waves, and thou Deep,
 peace,
 Said then the Omnifick Word; your discord end!
 Nor staid; but, on the wings of Cherubim
 Uplifted, in paternal glory rode
 Far into Chaos, and the world unborn; 220
 For Chaos heard his voice: Him all his train
 Follow'd in bright proceffion, to behold
 Creation, and the wonders of his might.
 Then staid the fervid wheels, and in his hand
 He took the golden compaffes, prepar'd 225

were there any mountains as in the preceding line; the Angel does not say there were: He tells Adam there was such confusion in Chaos, as if on earth the sea in mountainous waves should rise from its very bottom to assault Heaven, and mix the center of the globe with the extremities of it. The aptest illustration he could possibly have thought of to have given Adam some idea of the thing. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 216. *Silence, ye troubled Waves, and thou Deep, peace,*] How much does the brevity of the command add to the sublimity and majesty of it! It is the same kind of beauty that Longinus admires in the Mosaic history of the Creation. It is of the same strain with the same *Omnifick Word's* calming the tempest in the Gospel, when he said to the raging sea, *Peace, be still*, Mark iv. 39. And how elegantly has he turned the commanding words *silence* and *peace*, making one the first and the other the last in the sentence, and thereby giving the greater force and emphasis to both! NEWTON.

Ver. 224. — *the fervid wheels,*] Horace's epithet, *Od. i. i. 4.*

“*Metâque fervidis evitata rotis.*” HUME.

Ver. 225. *He took the golden compaffes,*] *Prov. viii. 27.* “When he prepared the Heavens, I was there: when he set a compass upon the face of the deep.” And Dionys. *Perieg. ad finem*:

In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
 This universe, and all created things :
 One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
 Round through the vast profundity obscure ;
 And said, Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
 This be thy just circumference, O World ! 231
 Thus God the Heaven created, thus the Earth,
 Matter unform'd and void : Darkness profound
 Cover'd the abyss : but on the watery calm
 His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
 And vital virtue infus'd, and vital warmth 236
 Throughout the fluid mass ; but downward purg'd

Αἱ τοὶ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα θεμέλια ΤΟΠΩΣΑΝΤΟ,
 Καὶ βαθὺν ὄμιον ἰδεῖαν ἀμετρήτοις θαλάσσης.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 232. *Thus God the Heaven created, &c.*] The reader will naturally remark how exactly Milton copies Moses in his account of the creation. This seventh book of *Paradise Lost* may be called a larger sort of paraphrase upon the first chapter of Genesis. Milton not only observes the same series and order, but preserves the very words as much as he can, as we may see in this and other instances. *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth ; and the Earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep ; and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.* Gen. i. 1, 2. The poet says *watery calm*, as the Messiah had before calmed the deep, v. 216 ; and says *outspread his brooding wings* instead of *moved*, following the original rather than our translation. NEWTON.

Ver. 236. *And vital virtue infus'd,*] See St. Basil's description of the Spirit of God exerting the same effectual energy upon this occasion, *Homil. ii.* Συνιθαλλει καὶ ζωογίνει τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων φύσιν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐκπαρέσεως ἑριθους, καὶ ΖΩΤΙΚΗΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ἘΝΙΕΙΣΗΣ τοῖς ἐποβαλομένοις.

*The black tartareous cold infernal dregs,
Adverse to life : then founded, then conglob'd
Like things to like ; the rest to several place 240
Disparted, and between spun out the air ;
And Earth self-balance'd on her center hung.*

Ver. 239. ————— *then founded, then conglob'd &c.*] Milton had said that Messiah first purged downward the infernal dregs which were adverse to life ; and that then of things friendly to life he *founded* and *conglob'd* like to like, that is, he caused them to assemble and associate together : the *rest*, that is such things as were not of the same nature and fit for composing the earth, went off to other places, perhaps to form the planets and fixed stars. This seems to be Milton's meaning. PEARCE.

Here it will be of use to recur to the account in B. iii. 708. The earthy, watery, airy, and fiery particles, which before were blended promiscuously, were now combined and fixed as a foundation ; for *founded* does either signify that from *fundare*, or to melt from *fundere* ; this latter it cannot mean ; 'twas already fluid. Thus *Psal.* lxxxix. 11. "As for the world and the fulness thereof, 'Thou hast *founded* them." So *Prov.* iii. 19. "The Lord by wisdom hath *founded* the earth." The *rest* must be something different from the now elementary bodies, and that (B. iii. 716.) is determined to be the ethereal quintessence of which the heavenly luminous bodies were formed. RICHARDSON.

Dr. Newton here refers to Lucretius, lib. v. 438.

"Diffugere inde loci partes cœpere, parésque

"Cum paribus jungi res &c."

Perhaps Milton might also have been influenced, in this description, by Cicero : "Ac principio terra universa cernatur, locata in media sede mundi, solida, et globosa, et undique ipsa in sese nutibus suis *conglobata*." De Nat. Deor. lib. ii. sect. 39.

Ver. 241. ————— *and between spun out the air ;*

And Earth self-balance'd on her center hung.] From Ovid, but very much improved, *Met.* i. 12. NEWTON,

Let there be light, said God; and forthwith
 Light
 Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure
 Sprung from the deep; and from her native east
 To journey through the aery gloom began, 246
 Spher'd in a radiant cloud, for yet the sun
 Was not; she in a cloudy tabernacle
 Sojourn'd the while. God saw the light was good;
 And light from darkness by the hemisphere 250
 Divided: light the Day, and darkness Night,
 He nam'd. Thus was the first day even and morn:
 Nor past uncelebrated, nor un Sung

Ver. 243. *Let there be light, said God; and forthwith Light &c.*] Gen. i. 3. *And God said, Let there be light; and there was light.* This is the passage that Longinus particularly admires; and no doubt its sublimity is greatly owing to its conciseness; but our poet enlarges upon it, endeavouring to give some account how light was created the first day, when the sun was not form'd till the fourth day. He says that it was *spher'd in a radiant cloud*, and so *journey'd* round the earth *in a cloudy tabernacle*; and herein he is justified by the authority of some commentators; though others think this light was the light of the sun, which shone as yet very imperfectly, and did not appear in full lustre till the fourth day. NEWTON.

Milton has here preserved the beauty and emphasis of the original, in the repetition of the word *light*: "Let there be *light*; and there was *light*." For the thought would not have been so well expressed, if it had stood thus: "God said, Let there be light, and it was so." LORD MONROD.

Ver. 248. ————— *a cloudy tabernacle*] Alluding to the glory of the Lord sojourning in the tabernacle, before a most glorious temple was built for its fixed residence and habitation.

GREENWOOD.

By the celestial quires, when orient light
 Exhaling first from darkness they beheld ; 255
 Birth-day of Heaven and Earth ; with joy and
 shout

The hollow universal orb they fill'd,
 And touch'd their golden harps, and hymning
 prais'd

God and his works ; Creator him they sung,
 Both when first evening was, and when first morn.

Again, God said, Let there be firmament 261
 Amid the waters, and let it divide
 The waters from the waters ; and God made
 The firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
 Transparent, elemental air, diffus'd 265
 In circuit to the uttermost convex
 Of this great round ; partition firm and sure,

Ver. 256. ————— *with joy and shout*

The hollow universal orb they fill'd,] *Job, xxxviii.*

4, 7. “ Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth ; when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy ?” NEWTON.

Ver. 261. *Again, God said, &c.*] *Gen. i. 6.* But when Milton says, that “ God made the *firmament*,” he explains what is meant by the *firmament*. The Hebrew word, which the Greeks render by *σπίραμα*, and our Translators by *firmament*, signifies *expansion* : It is rendered *expansion* in the margin of our Bibles, and Milton rightly explains it by *the expanse of elemental air*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 267. ————— *partition firm and sure,*] For its certainty, not solidity. St. Augustine upon Genesis : “ It is not called firmament as being a solid body, but because it is a bound or term between the upper and nether waters ; a partition

The waters underneath from those above
 Dividing : for as earth, so he the world
 Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide 270
 CrySTALLINE ocean, and the loud misrule
 Of Chaos far remov'd ; left fierce extremes
 Contiguous might distemper the whole frame :

firm and immoveable, not upon account of its station, but of its firmness and intransgressibility." HUME.

Ver. 268. *The waters underneath from those above*

Dividing :] They who understand the *firmament* to be the vast air, expanded and stretched out on all sides to the starry Heavens, esteem the waters above it to be those generated, in the middle region of the air, of vapours exhaled and drawn up thither from the steaming earth and nether waters ; which descend again in such vast showers and mighty floods of rain, that not only rivers, but seas, may be imaginable above, as appeared when the *cataraets* came down in a deluge, and the *flood-gates of Heaven were opened*, Gen. vii. 11.

Others, and those many, by these *waters above* understand the crystalline Heaven (by *Cassendus* made double) by our author better named *crystalline ocean*, by its clearness resembling water. " *Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters,*" Psal. civ. 3. " *Praise him ye Heavens of Heavens, and ye waters that be above the Heavens,*" Psal. cxlviii. 4.

To this sense our poet agrees, and thus infers, that, as God built the earth, and founded it on waters (" *stretched out the earth above the waters,*") Psal. cxxxvi. 6. (" *By the word of God the Heavens were of old, and the earth consisting out of the water and in the water,*") II Pet. iii. 5 ; so also he established the whole frame of the heavenly orbs, in a calm crystalline sea surrounding it, lest the neighbourhood of the unruly Chaos should disturb it. *But all search in works so wonderful, so distant and undiscernible, as well as undemonstrable, is quite confounded.* HUME.

There is another text, to which the poet might allude in this sublime description : " *He hath founded it [the earth] upon the seas, and established it upon the floods,*" *Psal. xxiv. 2.*

And Heaven he nam'd the Firmament : So even
And morning chorus sung the second day. 275

The Earth was form'd, but in the womb as yet
Of waters, embryon immature involv'd,
Appear'd not : over all the face of Earth
Main ocean flow'd, not idle ; but, with warm
Prolifick humour softening all her globe, 280
Fermented the great mother to conceive,
Sate with genial moisture ; when God said,
Be gather'd now ye waters under Heaven
Into one place, and let dry land appear.

Ver. 274. *And Heaven be nam'd the Firmament :*] So Gen. i. 8. According to the Hebrews there were three Heavens. The first, is the air, wherein the clouds move and the birds fly. The second, is the starry Heaven ; and the third, is the habitation of the Angels, and the seat of God's glory. Milton is speaking here of the first Heaven, as he mentions the others in other places.

NEWTON,

Ver. 282. ————— *God said,*

Be gather'd now ye waters under Heaven

Into one place, and let dry land appear.] Gen. i. 9.

" And God said, Let the waters under the Heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear : And it was so."

And it was so, is very short in Moses, Milton enlarges upon it, as the subject will admit some fine strokes of poetry, and seems to have had his eye upon the civth *Psalms*, 6th and following verses : " Thou coverdst the earth with the deep ; the waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled, at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away. They go up by the mountains, they go down by the valleys, unto the place which thou hast founded for them, &c." NEWTON.

He might also have had in view the fine lines in Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 31—40.

Immediately the mountains huge appear 285
 Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave
 Into the clouds ; their tops ascend the sky :
 So high as heav'd the tumid hills, so low
 Down sunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,
 Capacious bed of waters : Thither they 290
 Hasted with glad precipitance, uproll'd,
 As drops on dust conglobing from the dry :
 Part rise in crystal wall, or ridge direct,
 For haste ; such flight the great command im-
 perts'd

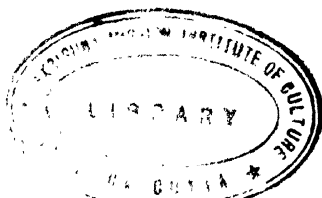
On the swift floods : As armies at the call 295
 Of trumpet (for of armies thou hast heard)
 Troop to their standard ; so the watery throng,
 Wave rolling after wave, where way they found,
 If steep, with torrent rapture, if through plain,
 Soft-ebbing ; nor withstood them rock or hill ; 300
 But they, or under ground, or circuit wide
 With serpent error wandering, found their way,
 And on the washy ooze deep channels wore ;
 Easy, ere God had bid the ground be dry,

Ver. 299. *If steep, with torrent rapture,*] I have seen a marginal reading "with torrent *rupture*," as in v. 419 we have "bursting with kindly *rupture*." But we may understand *torrent rapture* in the same manner as *glad precipitance*, v. 291.

NEWTON.

Ver. 302. *With serpent error wandering,*] So, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Isl.* 1633, c. ii. st. 9.

— "for thousand brooks
 "In azure channels glide on silver sand,
 "Their *serpent windings*, and deceiving crooks
 "Circling about, and watering all the plain."



All but within those banks, where rivers now 305
 Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train.
 The dry land, Earth; and the great receptacle
 Of congregated waters, he call'd Seas:
 And saw that it was good; and said, Let the Earth
 Put forth the verdant grafs, herb yielding feed,
 And fruit-tree yielding fruit after her kind, 311
 Whose feed is in herself upon the Earth.
 He scarce had said, when the bare Earth, till then
 Defart and bare, unfightly, unadorn'd, (65990
 Brought forth the tender grafs, whose verdure clad
 Her universal face with pleasant green; 316
 Then herbs of every leaf, that sudden flower'd
 Opening their various colours, and made gay
 Her bosom, smelling sweet: and, these scarce
 blown,

Ver. 306. ———— *and perpetual draw their humid train.*]
Perpetual for *perpetually*. So Dante has used *eternal* for *eternally*,
Inferno, c. iii.

“ Dinanzi a me non fur cose create,
 “ Se non eterne, ed io *eterno* duro.”

Ver. 307. *The dry land, Earth; &c.*] These are again the
 words of *Genesis* formed into verse, i. 10, 11. But when he
 comes to the descriptive part, he then opens a finer vein of poetry.

NEWTON.

Ver. 317. ———— *that sudden flower'd*

Opening their various colours, &c.] Compare the
 account of the creation, II *Esdra*s, vi. 44. “Immediately there
 was great and innumerable fruit, and many and divers pleasures
 for the taste, and flowers of unchangeable colour, and odours of
 wonderful smell.”

Forth flourish'd thick the clustering vine, forth
 crept
 The swelling gourd, up stood the corny reed 320

Ver. 321. *The swelling gourd,*] So the author gave it; as Propertius, iv. ii. 43.

“*Cæruleus cucumis tumidusque cucurbita ventre.*”

Those, who stily maintain that *smelling* was Milton's word and interpret it the *melon*, seem not to attend, that he had the word *smelling* two lines before, and would not have doubled it so soon again; and that he does not name here any particular plant, but whole tribes and species: the vine, the gourd, the reed, the shrub, the bush, the tree. *Gourds* are as numerous a family, as most of the other, and include the *melon* within the general name; which, though it smells, swells likewise.

BENTLEY.

Dr. Bentley very justly reads, “*The swelling gourd:*” And, to the reasons which he gives, may be added, that Milton here assigns to each of the other tribes or species, an epithet which suits with all the same species: But *smelling*, though it suits with some kinds of the *gourd*, does not suit with all the particulars of that tribe, as *swelling* does. PEARCE.

The mistake was easy of *vo* for *m*: And Dr. Bentley's emendation is certainly right. To the authority which he has brought from Propertius, may be added another from Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 121.

————— “*tortusque per herbam*

“*Cresceret in ventrem cucumis.*”

But I have not altered the text, as the common reading makes sense, though not such good sense as the other. NEWTON.

The common reading, “*The smelling gourd,*” is justly supposed by Dr. Bentley to be a mere mistake of the printer: And it is an act of justice due to the poet and the critick, to admit the emendation into the text.

Ibid. ————— *the corny reed*] *The horny reed* stood upright, among the undergrowth of nature, like a grove

Seem'd like to Heaven, a seat where Gods might dwell,

Or wander with delight, and love to haunt 330
Her sacred shades : though God had yet not rain'd
Upon the Earth, and man to till the ground
None was ; but from the Earth a dewy mist
Went up, and water'd all the ground, and each
Plant of the field ; which, ere it was in the Earth,
God made, and every herb, before it grew 336
On the green stem : God saw that it was good :
So even and morn recorded the third day.

Again the Almighty spake, Let there be lights

Ver. 329. ————— *a seat where Gods might dwell,*

Or wander with delight,] A manifest allusion, as Mr. Stillingfleet notes, to Homer ; where he describes Mercury surveying the delightful bower of Calypso, *Odyss.* v. 73.

————— ἵθα καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατος περὶ ἐπιθδών

Θήσεται ἰδών, καὶ τεφθὲν φρεσὶν ἔσιν.

Ver. 331. ————— *though God had yet not rain'd &c.*] This is not taken, as the rest, from the first, but from the second, chapter of *Genesis* : But the poet was studious to weave in all that Moses had written of the Creation. See *Gen.* ii. 4, 5, 6.

NEWTON.

Ver. 338. *So even and morn recorded the third day.*] Recorded, *celebrated, caused to be remembered.* This was done by the *even and morning chorus*, v. 275, with *evening harps and matins*, v. 450. What is done by the voices and instruments, is poetically ascribed to the time in which they were employed.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 339. *Again the Almighty spake, Let there be lights &c.*] See *Gen.* i. 14, 15. When Milton makes the Divine Person speak, he still keeps close to Scripture ; but afterwards he indulges a greater latitude of thought, and gives freer scope to his imagination. NEWTON.

High in the expanse of Heaven, to divide 340
 The day from night ; and let them be for signs,
 For seasons, and for days, and circling years ;
 And let them be for lights, as I ordain
 Their office in the firmament of Heaven,
 To give light on the Earth ; and it was so. 345
 And God made two great lights, great for their use
 To Man, the greater to have rule by day,

Ver. 346. *And God made two great lights,*] The very words of Moses : Not that they were greater than all other stars and planets, but are only greater lights with reference to Man ; and therefore Milton judiciously adds,

—————“ great for their use
 “ To Man, the greater to have rule by day,
 “ The less by night, altern ;”

that is, alternate, a word added to Moses's account, as *in their vicissitude* are afterwards. See *Gen.* i. 16, 17, 18.

So far, he keeps close to Scripture, but then he launches out, and says that, of *celestial bodies, the sun was first fram'd, and then the moon and stars* ; observing this order of creation, we suppose, according to the degrees of usefulness to men. The sun, he says, was *unlightsome first* ; and it is most probable, that the bodies of the sun and moon &c. were formed at the same time as the body of the earth on the first day, but they were not made those complete luminous bodies, they did not shine out in their lustre and glory till the fourth day, the air perhaps or atmosphere not being sufficiently cleared to transmit their rays to the earth. Milton's hypothesis is different.

He says, that the light was transplanted from her cloudy shrine or tabernacle, wherein she had sojourn'd the three first days, and on the fourth day was placed in the sun's orb, which was become now the great palace of light. But let it be remembered, that this is all hypothesis, and that the Scripture determines nothing one way or other. NEWTON.

The lefs by night, altern; and made the ftars,
 And fet them in the firmament of Heaven
 To illuminate the Earth, and rule the day 350
 In their viciffitude, and rule the night,
 And light from darknefs to divide. God faw,
 Surveying his great work, that it was good :
 For of celestial bodies firft the fun 354
 A mighty fphere he fram'd, unlightfome firft,
 Though of ethereal mould: then form'd the moon
 Globofe, and every magnitude of ftars,
 And fow'd with ftars the Heaven, thick as a field:

Ver. 358. *And fow'd with ftars the Heaven, thick as a field:*] This allufion is extremely elegant. Manilius, v. 726.

“ Tunc conferta licet cœli fulgentia templa

“ Cernere feminibus denfis, totifque micare

“ Floribus :”

Where Milton feems to have read *conferta*, which is much more beautiful; and his reading feems to be proved by the word *denfis*, which would be unnecessary, and even bad, with the word *conferta*. RICHARDSON.

Milton was thinking rather of his favourite, Spenser, than of Manilius: See his *Hymn* to heavenly Beauty, v. 53, of the fky;

“ All fow'd with gliftering ftars, more thick than grafs.”

So, in Sylvefter's *Du Bartas*, p. 76, of the firmament;

“ Set with gilt fpangles, fown with gliftering sparks.”

And in Donne's *Poems*, 1633, p. 124.

“ And fowes the court with ftarres.”

See alfo Crafhaw's *Sacred Poems*, 1652, p. 86.

“ And ftarres thou fow'ft, whose harueft dares

“ Promise the earth &c.”

Or the expreffion might be caught by Milton from the *Adamo* of Andreini, ed. 1617, p. 71.

Of light by far the greater part he took, 359
 Transplanted from her cloudy shrine, and plac'd
 In the sun's orb, made porous to receive
 And drink the liquid light; firm to retain
 Her gather'd beams, great palace now of light.
 Hither, as to their fountain, other stars

" Se 'l celeste Cultore,
 " Che i bei campi del cielo,
 " Seminati ha di stelle, &c."

Ver. 361. ——— made porous to receive

And drink the liquid light; firm to retain

Her gather'd beams,] Porous, yet firm. Milton

seems to have taken this thought from what is said of the Bologna stone, which being placed in the light will imbibe, and for some time retain it, so as to enlighten a dark place. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 362. *And drink the liquid light;]* Dr. Bentley finds fault with the word *light* being repeated so often, and in two places substitutes some other expression in the room of it; but when Milton was describing the creation of light, it was better (as Dr. Pearce judiciously observes) to keep strictly to the word, though frequently repeated, than to vary it by phrases and circumlocutions. NEWTON.

Ver. 364. *Hither, as to their fountain, other stars]* So the sun is called by Lucretius, ver. 282, the fountain of light, of *liquid light*.

" Largus item liquidi fons luminis, æthereus fol

" Irrigat assidue cælum candore recenti:"

And by *other stars* are meant the planets, as appears by mentioning particularly *the morning-planet Venus*,

" And hence the morning-planet gilds her horns:"

In the first edition it was *his* horns, but the author in the second edition softened it into *her* horns, which is certainly properer for the planet Venus, though Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton have still printed it *his* horns. NEWTON.

Repairing, in their golden urns draw light, 365
 And hence the morning-planet gilds her horns ;
 By tincture or reflection they augment
 Their small peculiar, though from human sight
 So far remote, with diminution seen.
 First in his east the glorious lamp was seen, 370
 Regent of day, and all the horizon round
 Invested with bright rays, jocund to run
 His longitude through Heaven's high road ; the
 gray

Ver. 365. ——— in their golden urns draw light,] Mr.
 Stillingfleet here refers to Aristophanes, *Nub.* v. 271.

Εἴτ' ἄρα Νήλυς προχοαῖς ἰδάτων ΧΡΥΣΕΟΙΣ ἈΡΤΕΣΘΕ ΠΡΟΧΟΤΕΙΝ.

Ver. 372. ——— jocund to run

His longitude through Heaven's high road ;] Dr.
 Bentley calls *longitude* here mere nonsense : But it signifies the
 sun's course from east to west in a straight and direct line : And
 we find Milton using the word after much the same manner, in
 B. iii. 576.

This passage alludes to *Psalms* xix. 5, where it is said of the
 sun, that " he rejoiceth as a giant to run his course." PEARCE.

Spenser, in a passage of most exquisite poetry, alludes to the
 same text, *Fær. Qu.* i. v. 2.

" And Phæbus fresh, as brydegrome to his mate,

" Came dauncing forth, shaking his dewie haire."

See also note on *Comus*, v. 100.

Ver. 373. ——— the gray

Dawn,] It is a singular coincidence, that the
 same phrase occurs, with the same collocation, in Carew's *Poems*,
 1642. See a Pastoral Dialogue ; the Nymph to the Shepherd :

" The yellow planets, and the gray

" Dawn, shall attend thee on thy way."

Dawn, and the Pleiades, before him danc'd,
 Shedding sweet influence : Let's bright the moon,
 But opposite in levell'd west was set, 376
 His mirrour, with full face borrowing her light
 From him ; for other light she needed none
 In that aspéct, and still that distance keeps 379
 Till night ; then in the east her turn she shines,
 Revolv'd on Heaven's great axle, and her reign

Ibid. ————— *the gray*

Dawn, and the Pleiades, before him danc'd,

Shedding sweet influence :] These are beautiful images,

and very much resemble the famous picture of the morning by Guido, where the Sun is represented in his chariot, with the Aurora flying before him, shedding flowers, and seven beautiful nymph-like figures dancing before and about his chariot, which are commonly taken for the Hours, but possibly may be the *Pleiades*, as they are seven in number, and it is not easy to assign a reason why the Hours should be signified by that number particularly. The picture is on a cieling at Rome ; but there are copies of it in England, and an excellent print by Jac. Frey. The *Pleiades* are seven stars in the neck of the constellation Taurus, which, rising about the time of the vernal equinox, are called by the Latins *Virgine*. Our poet therefore, in saying that the *Pleiades* danced before the Sun at his creation, intimates very plainly that the Creation was in the spring according to the common opinion, Virg. *Georg.* ii. 338, &c.

——“ Ver illud erat ; ver magnus agebat

“ Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,

“ Cum primæ lucem pecudes hausere, &c.”

Ver. 375. *Shedding sweet influence :*] *Job*, xxxviii. 31.

“ Canst thou bind the *sweet influences* of the Pleiades ?” HUME,

So, in P. Fletcher's *Locusts*, p. 40, of Britain :

“ There every *starre* *SHEDS* his *sweet influence*,

“ And radiant beames.”

With thousand lesser lights dividual holds,
 With thousand thousand stars, that then appear'd
 Spangling the hemisphere: Then first adorn'd
 With their bright luminaries that set and rose,
 Glad evening and glad morn crown'd the fourth
 day. 386

And God said, Let the waters generate
 Reptile with spawn abundant, living soul:

Ver. 382. *With thousand lesser lights dividual holds,*] Mr. Warton has observed, that Milton has twice anglicised the Ovidian adjective *dividant*, in *Paradise Lost*; in the present passage, and in B. xii. 86.

It may be added, that the poet had long before converted the word into English, in his *Anapæstics*: "So that a man may say, his religion is now no more within himself, but is become a *dividual* movable, &c."

Ver. 384. *Spangling the hemisphere:*] The poet is fond of this epithet: Thus, in his translation of the cxxxvi *Psalms*, he calls the *stars*, the moon's "*spangled* sisters;" and, in his *Ode on the Nativity*, "the *spangled* host." See also *Comus*, v. 1003.

"But far above in *spangled* sheen."

The epithet is often used by our elder poets, as also the compound "*star-spangled*." The "*spangled heavens*," or "*skies*," is become a common phrase in modern poetry.

Ver. 387. *And God said, &c.*] This, and eleven verses following, are almost word for word from *Genesis* i. 20, 21, 22. The poet afterwards branches out this general account of the fifth day's creation into the several particulars." NEWTON.

Ver. 388. *Reptile with spawn abundant,*] By *reptile* is meant *creeping thing*; and, according to the marginal reading of our English version, which follows the Septuagint here, *creeping things* are said to have been created on the fifth day, *Gen.* i. 20. Le Clerc too, with the generality of interpreters, renders the Hebrew word by *reptile*. To this Dr. Bentley objects, that

And let fowl fly above the Earth, with wings
 Display'd on the open firmament of Heaven. 390
 And God created the great whales, and each
 Soul living, each that crept, which plenteously
 The waters generated by their kinds ;
 And every bird of wing after his kind ;
 And saw that it was good, and blest'd them,
 saying, 395
 Be fruitful, multiply, and in the seas,
 And lakes, and running streams, the waters fill ;
 And let the fowl be multiplied, on the Earth.
 Forthwith the founts and seas, each creek and
 bay,
 With fry innumerable swarm, and shoals 400

creeping things were created on the sixth day, according to the account given us by Moses, and by Milton himself. But by *reptile*, or *creeping thing*, Milton means all such creatures as move in the waters ; see Le Clerc's note on *Gen.* i. 20 : And, by *creeping thing* mentioned in the sixth day's creation, he means *creeping things of the earth* ; for so, both in Milton's account, *v.* 452, and in *Gen.* i. 24, the words "*of the earth*" are to be joined in construction to "*creeping thing*." Hence the doctor's objection is answered, by saying that they were *not the same creeping things*, which Milton mentions in the two places.

PEARCE.

Milton is supported also by *Psalms* civ. 25. " This great and wide sea, wherein are *things creeping* innumerable, both small and great beasts."

Ver. 391. *And God created the great whales,*] Mr. Stillingfleet observes, that Milton most likely uses the word *whales* for *all sorts of great fish*, in imitation of the ancients, Pliny, Aristotle, and Strabo ; which removes Dr. Bentley's objection as to the mention afterwards made of the *Leviathan*,

Of fish that with their fins, and shining scales,
 Glide under the green wave, in sculls that oft
 Bank the mid sea: part single, or with mate,
 Graze the sea-weed their pasture, and through
 groves 404

Of coral stray; or, sporting with quick glance,
 Show to the sun their wav'd coats dropt with gold;
 Or, in their pearly shells at ease, attend
 Moist nutriment; or under rocks their food
 In jointed armour watch: on smooth the scal, 409

Ver. 402. ————— in sculls that oft

Bank the mid sea:] Hume derives the word *scull* from the Saxon *sceole*, an *assembly*: And, in Barret's *Alve-arv*, 1580, it is rendered "*examen vel agmen piscium*."

Dr. Newton remarks, that "*shoals in sculls*" seems an odd expression, and proposes to read "*shoals and sculls*." However, *sculls* and *shoals*, according to Mr. Ritson in his note on *Trains and Cressida*, Shakspeare edit. 1793, vol. xi. 436, have not only one and the same meaning, but are actually, or at least originally, one and the same word; a *scull* of herrings on the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk being elsewhere called a *shoal*.

Ver. 404. ————— and through groves

Of coral stray;] Coral is a production of the sea, and is commonly ranked among the number of marine plants. The learned Kircher supposes entire forests of it to grow at the bottom of the sea, which may justify Milton's expression, *groves of coral*. NEWTON.

Ver. 409. *In jointed armour watch:*] The reader cannot but be pleased with the beauty of this metaphor. The shells of lobsters &c. and armour, very much resemble one another: And, in the Civil Wars, there was a regiment of horse so completely armed, that they were called Sir Arthur Haslerig's *lobsters*. Possibly Milton might be thinking of them at this very time.

NEWTON.

And bended dolphins play : part huge of bulk
 Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait,
 Tempest the ocean : there leviathan,

I think it will be evident, that Sir Arthur's *lobsters* could not claim the honour of suggesting, in any degree, this image to the poet, when it is shown that the resemblance noted had been long before used. Thus, in Bright's *Treatise of Melancholie*, 1586, p. 28. "Such sea-fish as carie no armor of shels, are ether thofe that haunt the rocks, or other parts of the sea." So also, in Randolph's *Muses Looking Glasse*, 1640. A. iv. S. i.

"She [Nature] spotted the ermin's skin, and arm'd the fish
 "In silver mail."——

Pope has availed himself of Milton's expression, *jointed armour*, Iliad xxiii. 949.

Ibid. ————— on *smooth the seal*,

And bended dolphins play :] The *seal* or sea-calf, and the dolphin, are observed to sport on *smooth* seas in calm weather. The dolphin is called *bended*, not that he really is so more than any other fish, but only appears crooked, as he forms an arch by leaping out of the water and instantly dropping into it again with his head foremost. Ovid therefore describes him, "*tergo delphina recurvo*," Fast. ii. 113; and his sportive nature is alluded to by Virgil, *Æn.* v. 595. NEWTON.

Ver. 412. *Tempest the ocean :*] Milton has here, with very great art and propriety, adapted the Italian verb *tempestare*. He could not possibly have expressed this idea in mere English, without some kind of circumlocution, which would have weakened and enervated that energy of expression which this part of his description required. Besides, no word could be more proper in the beginning of the verse, to make it labour like the troubled ocean, which he is painting out. THYER.

He might adapt the Italian verb; but our own language was in possession of it. See Sandys's *Travels*, 1615, p. 207.

"Blind night in darknesse *tempests*"——

Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
 Stretch'd like a promontory sleeps or swims,
 And seems a moving land; and at his gills 415
 Draws in, and at his trunk spouts out, a sea.
 Mean while the tepid caves, and fens, and shores,
 Their brood as numerous hatch, from the egg that
 soon
 Bursting with kindly rupture forth disclos'd 419
 Their callow young; but feather'd soon and fledge
 They sum'm'd their pens; and, soaring the air
 sublime,
 With clang despis'd the ground, under a cloud

Pope, with his eye on Milton, describes "the huge dolphin
trapezing the main," *Iliad* xxi. 30.

Ibid. ———— *there leviathan,*] Here perhaps in-
 tended for the *whale*, not without an allusion to *Psalms* civ. 26.

Ver. 416. ———— *and at his trunk spouts out, a sea.* Ovid,
Met. iii. 686.

—"et acceptum patulis mare naribus efflant."

NEWTON.

Ver. 420. ———— *feather'd soon and fledge*] So, in
B. in. 627. "His shoulders *fledge* with wings." Where doctor
 Newton thinks, that the poet preferred *fledge* to *fledged*, as
 being of a softer sound. It seems however to have been his
 usual way of writing the adjective rather than the participle.
 Thus, in his *Cassidion*. "Newly-*fledge* probationers."

Ver. 421. *They sum'm'd their pens;*] *Pens* from *penna*, a
 feather. *Sum'm'd* is a term in falconry; a hawk is said to be
 full summ'd, when his feathers are grown to their full strength.
 So, in *Par. Reg.* B. i. 14.

"With prosperous wing *full sum'm'd*." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 422. *With clang despis'd the ground, under a cloud*
In prospect;] That is, the birds were so many

In prospect; there the eagle and the stork
 On cliffs and cedar tops their eyries build: ,424
 Part loofely wing the region, part more wise
 In common, rang'd in figure, wedge their way,

that the ground from which they rose, would have appeared to be *under a cloud*, if any one had seen it at a distance: In this sense we have "*how it [the world] shew'd in prospect from his throne,*" v. 555. PEARCE.

Under a cloud; the ground, being shaded by the multitude of birds, seemed as when a cloud passes over it. RICHARDSON.

Under a cloud; the sense, according to Mr. Stillingfleet, is, "*they soared so high as to be just beneath the clouds.*" Thus Theocritus, *Idyll.* xvii. Ὑπερὶ νεφέων ὑψόθεν ἐκλαγὲ αἰετῶν. *In prospect* means not only *actually seen*, but *to be seen*. Thus we say there is a fine *prospect* from such a place; whether any body be there or not. Besides, I may add that the whole description of the animals supposes some spectator as much as this line."

Ver. 423. ——— *there the eagle and the stork*

On cliffs and cedar tops their eyries build:] These birds build *their eyries*, that is, their nests, in such high places. In *Job*, it is said particularly of the eagle, "Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make *her nest on high*? She dwelleth and abideth *on the rock*, upon the crag of the rock, and the strong place," xxxix. 27, 28. And Pliny says of them, "*Nidificant in petris et arboribus.*" Lib. x. sect. 4.

NEWTON.

Ver. 426. ——— *rang'd in figure, wedge their way,*

Intelligent of seasons,] Jerem. viii. 7. "Yea the stork in the Heaven knoweth *her appointed times*; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, *observe the time of their coming, &c.*" So very intelligent are they of *seasons*.

See also *Speſtacle de la Nature*, Dialogue xi. "As to wild ducks and cranes, both the one and the other, at the approach of winter, fly in quest of more favourable climates. They all assemble at a certain day, like swallows and quails. They de-

Intelligent of seasons, and set forth
 Their aery caravan, high over seas
 Flying, and over lands, with mutual wing 429
 Easing their flight; so steers the prudent crane
 Her annual voyage, borne on winds; the air

camp at the same time, and it is very agreeable to observe their flight. They generally range themselves in a long column like an I, or in two lines united in a point like a V reversed." And so, as Milton says,

———"rang'd in figure wedge their way."

"The duck or quail, who forms the point, cuts the air, and facilitates a passage to those who follow; but he is charged with this commission only for a certain time, at the conclusion of which he wheels into the rear, and another takes his post." And thus, as Milton adds,

———"with mutual wing
 "Easing their flight." NEWTON.

The migration of birds is here described by Milton in language equally exact and picturesque. In saying, "*So steers the prudent crane her annual voyage, borne on winds*;" he had perhaps in mind what Cicero relates of the same bird: "*Illud verò ab Aristotele animadversum, à quo pleraque, quis potest non mirari? Grues, cùm loca calidiora petentes maria transmittant, trianguli efficere formam: ejus autem summo angulo aer ab iis adversus pellitur: deinde sensim ab utroque, tamquam remis, ita pennis cursus avium levatur. Basis autem trianguli, quam efficiunt grues, ea tamquam à puppi, ventis adjuvatur.*" De Nat. Deor. lib. ii. sect. 49.

Ver. 431. ———— *the air*

*Floats, as they pass, fann'd with unnumber'd
 plumes:] Compare Æschylus, Prom. Vinct. ed.*

Schütz. v. 125.

——— *αἰὲρ δ' ἀαφραῖς
 Πτερόγων ἑπταῖς ὑποστέλλει.*

Floats as they pass, fann'd with unnumber'd
 plumes :
 From branch to branch the smaller birds with
 song
 Solac'd the woods, and spread their painted wings
 Till even ; nor then the solemn nightingale 435
 Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her soft lays :

The sound arising from the motion of wings, is finely expressed by the Grecian bard ; but he is rivalled by Milton in that beautiful and admirable description of the same kind, B. i. 768.

“ Brush'd with the hiss of rustling wings”——

Ver. 433. *From branch to branch the smaller birds with song
 Solac'd the woods,*] Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 32.

———“ *Varie circumque supràque*

“ *Assuetæ ripis volucres et fluminis alveo*

“ *Æthera mulcibant cantu, lucòque volabant.*”

Ver. 434. —— *and spread their painted wings*] Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 243. “ *Pictæque volucres.*” So, in Peacham's *Period of Mourning*, 1613, Vision 5.

———“ come, wood musitians,

“ Surround him sleeping in your *painted* ranches.”

Ver. 435. —— *nor then the solemn nightingale
 Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her soft lays :*]

So, in the Song to Echo in *Comus*,

“ Where the love-lorn nightingale

“ *Nightly* to thee her sad song mourneth well.”

And *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 602.

———“ the wakeful nightingale ;

“ She *all night long* her amorous descant sung.”

Dr. Newton observes, that other poets mention the nightingale perhaps by way of simile ; but none of them dwells, or delights to dwell, so much upon it as Milton. Petrarch, however, has twice described this musical and melancholy bird, like Milton. See *Son.* x. *parte prima* :

Others, on silver lakes and rivers, bath'd
Their downy breast; the swan with arched neck,

“E ’l rosignuol, che *dolcemente* a l’ombra

“*Tutte le notti* si lamenta, e piagne”——

And *Son.* xliii. parte seconda:

“Quel rosignuol, che *si soave piagne*

“Forse suoi figli, o sua cara conforte,

“*Di dolcezza empie il cielo* e le campagne

“Con tante *note si pietose* e scorte;

“*E tutta notte* par che m’accompagne”——

Milton’s fondness and admiration of the nightingale may be seen, as Dr. Newton has remarked, in *Il Penseroso*, where he addresses her in those beautiful lines, beginning “Sweet bird, &c;” in his first *Sonnet*; and in *Par. L. B.*, besides the places already noted, B. iii. 38, B. iv. 648, and 771, B. v. 40, and B. viii. 518.

Ver. 438. ———— *the swan with arched neck,*] The ancient poets have not hit upon this beauty, so lavish as they have been in their descriptions of the swan. Homer calls the swan *long-necked*, *δωρυγόδισκος*; but how much more picturesque if he had *arched* this length of neck! RICHARDSON.

For this beauty, however, Milton was beholden to Donne, *Progress of the Soul*, st. 24.

—————“Like a ship in her full trim,

“A *swan*, so white that you may unto him

“Compare all whiteness, but himselfe to none,

“Glided along, and as he glided watch’d,

“And with his *arched neck* this poor fish catch’d.”

FARMER.

The *arched neck* is painted in a passage of remarkable sweetness in the *Oreste* of Rucellai, first published in 1723.

“Sopra un erbofo rivo

“Di corrente cristallo

“Un vago, e bianco *cigno*

“Sorgea, *curvando il collo*

“Sopra ’l candido grembo

“D’una bella fanciulla, &c.”



Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
 Her state with oary feet; yet oft they quit 440
 The dank, and, rising on stiff pennons, tower
 The mid æreal sky: Others on ground
 Walk'd firm; the crested cock whose clarion
 founds

See also Drayton's *Poems*, 1627, p. 480.

"The jealous swan, there swimming in his pride,

"With his arch'd breast the waters did divide,

"His fairy wings him forward strongly pushing."

Ver. 439. ————— *rorus*

Her state with oary feet;] Milton might probably have the following line of Fletcher in his head;

"How like a swan she swims her pace."

The expression is very like *rorus her state*. It is true, the image in Milton is much nobler. It is taken from a barge of state in a public procession. HURD.

Mr. Pennant and Mr. Wakefield consider the poet as indebted to Silius Italicus, lib. xiv. 190.

"Haud fecus Eridani stagnis ripave Caystri

"Innatat albus olor, pronòque immobile corpus

"Dat fluvio, et pedibus tacitas eremigat undas."

It is remarkable, that Dr. Farmer should have closed the quotation from Donne, without noticing the words which follow those with which he ends: "It mov'd *with state*." I may also add from Herrick's *Poems*, 1648, p. 375,

"May all clean Nymphs, and curious water-Dames,

"With *swan-like state*, flote up and down thy streams."

Ver. 443. ————— *the crested cock*] *Cristatus ales*, Ovid, *Fast.* i. 455, as Dr. Newton has observed. Hence also he is called, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, "the crested cock," p. 70. Drummond literally follows Ovid, in calling him "the crested bird," *Poems*, 1616. Niccols, in his *Cuckow*, 1607, adorns him with a compound epithet, "the bloody-crested cocke," p. 13.

The silent hours, and the other whose gay train
 Adorns him, colour'd with the florid hue 445
 Of rainbows and starry eyes. The waters thus
 With fish replenish'd, and the air with fowl,
 Evening and morn solemniz'd the fifth day.

The sixth, and of creation last, arose 449
 With evening harps and matin; when God said,
 Let the Earth bring forth soul living in her kind,
 Cattle, and creeping things, and beast of the Earth,
 Each in their kind. The Earth obey'd, and
 straight

Opening her fertile womb teem'd at a birth
 Innumerable living creatures, perfect forms, 455

Ver. 451. ————— soul *living*] By a manifest error of the press it had been printed in Milton's own edition, "*fowl* living;" and the error was continued in all succeeding editions, till Dr. Bentley pointed it out, and Dr. Newton admitted his alteration into the text. The sacred text, as well as the poet's former use of the phrase, v. 388 and v. 392, justify the emendation: for, as Dr. Newton adds, what is rendered "the living creature," Gen. i. 24, is, in the Hebrew, "*living soul*," which Milton usually follows rather than our translation.

Ver. 452. *Cattle, and creeping things*,] Dr. Newton agrees with Dr. Bentley, in believing *things* to be another error of the press, and in proposing to read *thing*, agreeably to Gen. i. 24. "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping *thing*."

But Milton, I think, may be here defended: He might have chosen to follow the Translators of *Esdras*, book ii. ch. vi. 53. "Upon the sixth day thou gavest commandment unto the earth, that before thee it should bring forth beasts, cattle, and *creeping things*."

Limb'd and full grown: Out of the ground up
 rose,
 As from his lair, the wild beast where he wons
 In forest wild, in thicket, brake, or den;
 Among the trees in pairs they rose, they walk'd:
 The cattle in the fields and meadows green: 460
 Those rare and solitary, these in flocks
 Pasturing at once, and in broad herds upsprung.
 The grassy clods now calv'd; now half appear'd

Ver. 457. *As from his lair,*] *Lair*, or *layer*, an old Saxon word, signifying a *bed*. The use of this word is still kept up among us, as when we call the different *strata* or *beds* of earth, some of clay, some of chalk, some of stone, *lairs*. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *where he wons*] *Frequents*, or *dwells*, from the German *wonen*: It occurs often in our old poets. Thus, in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. xvi. st. 67.

“ A thousand devils in Limbo deep that *wonne*.”

Ver. 461. *Those rare and solitary, these in flocks*] *Those*, that is, the wild beasts mentioned in v. 457: *These*, the tame, the *cattle*. And it is a very signal act of Providence that there are so few of the former sort, and so many of the latter for the use and service of man. NEWTON.

Ver. 462. ————— *broad herds*] This will sound a little strange to the ear of an English reader, who must therefore be told that he follows Homer literally, *Iliad* xi. 678.

————— αἰπάλια ΠΛΑΤΕ' αἰγῶν.

Virgil has a *long* herd, *Æn.* i. 186.

————— “ *et longum per valles pascitur agmen.*”

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 463. *The grassy clods now calv'd;*] Dr. Bentley quarrels with this expression, and says, that *calv'd* is a metaphor very heroical, especially for wild beasts! But, as Dr. Pearce justly observes, to *calve*, from the Belgick word *kalven*, signifies

The tawny lion, pawing to get free
His hinder parts, then springs as broke from
bonds,

And rampant shakes his brindèd mane; the ounce,
The libbard, and the tiger, as the mole

Rising, the crumbled earth above them threw
In hillocks : The swift stag from under ground
Bore up his branching head : Scarce from his
mould

Behemoth biggest born of earth upheav'd

to bring forth: It is a general word, and does not relate to cows only; for *hinds* are said to *calve*, in *Job xxxiv. 1*, and *Psaln xxix. 9*. Addison particularly commends this metaphor: And the whole description of the beasts rising out of the earth, is certainly not only worthy of the genius of Milton, but may be esteemed a shining part of the poem. He supposes the beasts to rise out of the earth, *in perfect forms, limb'd and full grown*, as Raphael had painted this subject before in the Vatican; and he describes their manner of rising in figures and attitudes, and in numbers too, suited to their various natures. NEWTON.

Ver. 467. *The lillbard,*] So the *leopard* was called in Milton's time. See the *City Match*, 1639, A. iv. S. v. Chaucer and Spenser also employ the same word.

Ver. 468. — *the crumbled earth above them threw
In billocks.*] Pope seems to have remembered
this passage, in his translation of the *Iliad*, B. ii. 371.

“ The altars heav'd ; and from the *crumbling* ground

"A mighty dragon shot, &c."

The description of the beasts here rising out of the earth, is also one of the few passages, as Dr. Warton observes, which Pope has ever quoted from Milton with approbation. See Pope's 12th Letter to Blount, Warton's edit. vol. viii. p. 31.

Ver. 471. *Behemoth*] Behemoth and Leviathan are two creatures, described in the book of *Job*; and, formerly, the

His vastness: Fleec'd the flocks and bleating rose,
 As plants: Ambiguous between sea and land
 The river-horse, and scaly crocodile. 474
 At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,
 Insect or worm: those wav'd their limber fans
 For wings, and smallest lineaments exact
 In all the liveries deck'd of summer's pride
 With spots of gold and purple, azure and green:
 These, as a line, their long dimension drew, 480
 Streaking the ground with sinuous trace; not all
 Minims of nature; some of serpent-kind,

generality of interpreters understood by them the *elephant* and the *whale*: But the learned Bochart, and other later critics, have endeavoured to show that *behemoth* is the *river-horse*, and *leviathan* the *crocodile*. It seems as if Milton was of the former opinion, by mentioning *leviathan* among the fishes, and “*the river-horse and scaly crocodile*,” v. 474, as distinct from *behemoth* and *leviathan*; and there is surely authority sufficient to justify a poet. NEWTON.

The *behemoth* and *leviathan* are particularly mentioned in the account of the Creation, II *Esdra*s vi. 49 &c; to which chapter I have referred the reader in the note on v. 452. The *behemoth* is a marginal reading, as he is called in the text *enoch*.

Ver. 478. ———— *deck'd*] Is a verb here, and not a participle: “And *deck'd* their smallest lineaments exact in all the liveries &c.” NEWTON.

Ver. 482. Minims of nature;] This word *minims* is formed from the adjective *minima*, and in allusion to the Vulgar Latin of *Prov.* xxx. 24. “*Quatuor ista sunt minima terræ.*” The word was in use before for an order of friars, *Minim*, [the least of all] *minimi*, so called from affected humility. NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *some of serpent-kind*,
Wonderous in length and corpulence, involved
Their snaky folds, and added wings.] Scaly, says Dr.

Wonderous in length and corpulence, involv'd
 Their snaky folds, and added wings. First crept
 The parsimonious emmet, provident 485
 Of future; in small room large heart enclos'd;
 Pattern of just equality perhaps

Bentley, is mere tautology, that is, *serpents* involved *serpentine* folds. But is not a *serpent* a more general word than *snake*? Does it not include all the creeping kind, at least several animals that are not *snakes*, nor have *snaky folds*? If so, then the epithet *snaky* is no tautology.

But what is *added wings*, says the doctor? It means, had wings added to their long and corpulent bodies. Scarcely any thing is more common in poetry, than to speak after this manner, which represents the creature as doing that which is done to it. So, in B. ix. 515, a ship is said to *steer* and *shift her jail*. So, in Virgil's *Georg.* ii. 535, it is said of the city of Rome,

"Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces."

Did the city itself build the wall? No, but it had the wall built round its seven hills.

If Milton afterwards, in v. 495, mentions the *serpent* again, he mentions a particular species of the serpent-kind; and with a plain view to make Adam more mindful of that animal which was to work his ruin and destruction. PEARCE.

Ver. 485. ———— *provident*

Of future; in small room large heart enclos'd;]

The former part from Horace, *Sat.* I. i. 35.

"Haud ignara ac non incauta futuri."

And the latter from Virgil, of the bee, *Georg.* iv. 83.

"Ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant."

NEWTON.

Ver. 487. *Pattern of just equality*] We see that Milton, upon occasion, discovers his principles of government. He enlarges upon the same thought in his *Ready Way to establish a free Commonwealth*, Prose-W. i. 591. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, saith Solomon, which having no prince, ruler, or lord,

Hereafter, join'd in her popular tribes
 Of commonalty : Swarming next appear'd
 The female bee, that feeds her husband drone 490
 Deliciously, and builds her waxen cells
 With honey stor'd : The rest are numberless,

provides her meat in the summer, and gathers her food in the harvest : which evidently shows us, that they, who think the nation undone without a King, have not so much true spirit and understanding as a Pismire : Neither are these diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended, but are set the examples, to imprudent and ungoverned men, of a frugal and self-governing democracy or commonwealth ; safer, and more thriving, in the joint *providence* and counsel of many *industrious equals*, than under the single domination of one impetuous lord."

He here adds *perhaps hereafter*, as he had no hopes of it at that time. He commends the ants or emmets for living in a republick, as the bees are said to live under a monarchy.

NEWTON.

Dr. Newton, in his *Life* of the poet, has observed, that one day Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend to Milton, as well as to the liberties of his country, and was one of his constant visitors to the last, inquired of him how he came to side with the *Republicans*. Milton answered among other reasons, " because *theirs was the most frugal government* ; for the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth."

It has been justly remarked, however, by a vigorous and learned writer, that Milton knew not the history of his own commonwealth : He knew not, that it had been expensive to the nation, beyond all the expensiveness of Royalty for six ages before. See *the Real Origin of Government*, edit. 1795, p. 38.

Ver. 490. *The female bee, that feeds her husband drone*

Deliciously,] The *drone*, says Dr. Bentley, is not the bee's husband : And, that bees are all *females*, seems an idle and idiotical notion, against the course and rule of nature. But, however that be, both those opinions had been strenuously main-

And thou their natures know'st, and gav'st them
names,

Needless to thee repeated ; nor unknown
The serpent, subtlest beast of all the field, 495
Of huge extent sometimes, with brazen eyes
And hairy mane terrifick, though to thee
Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.

Now Heaven in all her glory shone, and roll'd

tained by Mr. Charles Butler in the fourth chapter of his curious treatise upon bees, entitled *The Feminine Monarchie*, printed in 1634: And it seems to have been the prevailing doctrine in Milton's days. PEARCE.

There has been published in French a natural history of bees, *Histoire naturelle des Abeilles*, &c. Paris, 1744; wherein the curious author says, that in a hive there is commonly one queen, and perhaps a thousand males called *drones*, and near twenty thousand working bees of no sex that can be distinguished. The *drones* or *husbands of this queen* live idly and luxuriously upon the finest honey; whereas the common bees live in great measure upon wax; and the queen herself will condescend to wait upon the *drones*, and bring them honey: and so, as Milton expresses it, *feeds her husband drone deliriously*. NEWTON.

Ver. 496. *Of huge extent sometimes, with brazen eyes*

And hairy mane terrifick,] Such is the Norwegian serpent, described by Olaus Magnus, lib. xvi. cap. xxvii. "A collo deinceps *dependentes pilos cubitalis longitudinis habet, squamæ acutas, atro colore, et flammens oculos rutilantes.*"

Ver. 497. *And hairy mane terrifick,*] Virgil, in like manner, attributes a *mane* to serpents, *Æn.* ii. 206.

----- "jubæque

"Sanguineæ exuperant undas." NEWTON.

Ver. 499. ----- *and roll'd*

Her motions, as the great first Mover's hand

First wheel'd their course,] So, in *The first part*

of *the Tragicall raigne of Solomon*, 1594.

Her motions, as the great first Mover's hand 500
 First wheel'd their course: Earth in her rich attire
 Consummate lovely smil'd; air, water, earth,
 By fowl, fish, beast, was flown, was swum, was
 walk'd

Frequent; and of the sixth day yet remain'd:
 There wanted yet the master-work, the end 505
 Of all yet done; a creature, who, not prone

———" Oh! thou supreme Architect of all,
 " *First Mover* of those tenfold christall *orbes*,
 " Where all those *moving* and *unmoving eyes*
 " Behold thy goodness euerlastingly."

Ver. 505. *There wanted yet the master-work, &c.*] The
 author here remembered and copied Ovid, *Met.* i. 76.

" Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacious altæ,
 " Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset.—
 " Finxit in effigiem moderantùm cuncta Deorum.
 " Pronaque cùm spectent animalia cætera terram,
 " Os homini sublime dedit; cælumque tueri
 " Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus." NEWTON.

Plato's *Timæus* may be here again quoted: Τῷ δὲ μήπω τὰ
 πάντα ζῶα ἔντος αὐτοῦ γεγενημένα περιελθόναι, ταύτη ἔτι εἶχεν ἀνομοίως.
 Τὸτο δὲ τὸ κατάλοιπον ἀπειργάζετο αὐτὸς πρὸς τὴν τῷ παραδείγματος
 ἀποτυπώμενος φύσιν. Platonis Opp. edit. Serran. tom. iii. 39.

Ver. 506. ——— a creature, *who, not prone*
And brute as other creatures,] *Prone*, says Dr.
 Bentley, barely put, does not express what Milton aimed at from
 Ovid,

" *Pronaque cùm spectent animalia cætera terram.*"

It is true, that Ovid says more than *prone*; But Milton, who
 was perfectly skilled in the force of Latin words, knew that
pronus in Latin sufficiently expressed what Ovid, through a re-
 dundancy of style, had expressed by two more words, *spectent*

And brute as other creatures, but endued
 With sanctity of reason, might erect
 His stature, and upright with front serene
 Govern the rest, self-knowing; and from thence
 Magnanimous to correspond with Heaven, 511

terram. Any good Latin dictionary will furnish the reader with examples of *pronus* used in this sense without any additional word; and Milton himself uses it so again in B. viii. 433.

Why, *as other creatures?* says the doctor, when the Angels are creatures neither *prone*, nor *brute*. But do not Ovid's *animalia cætera*, and Cicero's *cæteras animantes* in his *De Leg.* lib. i, warrant Milton's saying *as other creatures?* Those *other creatures* can be none but such as Raphael had been describing the creation of; and therefore Angels are excluded sufficiently from being understood here. PEARCE.

And Milton, I suppose, made use of the word *creatures*, as creature went before; a creature not as other creatures.

NEWTON.

Ver. 508. *With sanctity of reason,*] What does *of* do here? says Dr. Bentley: He would have us read "With sanctity and reason." Ovid's words are these,

"Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altæ."

And this verse Milton had in mind, no doubt. But, instead of merely copying from it, he has improved it, by expressing Ovid's meaning in clearer and fewer words; for, in Ovid, the *sanctity* of the creature consists in its having *reason*, and this Milton better expresses by *sanctity of reason*. PEARCE.

Mr. Stillingfleet adds, that *sanctity of reason* is the same as *holy reason*: Thus *purity of love, greatness of spirit, &c.* But "sanctity of reason," he continues, is still more proper, because sanctity is the effect of reason, and of reason only (I speak of an unassisted state); for it is this that separates and sets us apart from the rest of the creation, and therefore sanctity *belongs to reason, or is of it*.

But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
 Descends, thither with heart, and voice, and eyes
 Directed in devotion, to adore
 And worship God Supreme, who made him chief
 Of all his works: therefore the Omnipotent 516
 Eternal Father (for where is not he
 Present ?) thus to his Son audibly spake.

Let us make now Man in our image, Man
 In our similitude, and let them rule 520
 Over the fish and fowl of sea and air,
 Beast of the field, and over all the Earth,
 And every creeping thing that creeps the ground.
 This said, he form'd thee, Adam, thee, O Man,
 Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
 The breath of life; in his own image he 526
 Created thee, in the image of God
 Express; and thou becam'st a living soul.
 Male he created thee; but thy comfort
 Female, for race; then blest'd mankind, and said,
 Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the Earth; 531
 Subdue it, and throughout dominion hold
 Over fish of the sea, and fowl of the air,
 And every living thing that moves on the Earth.

Ver. 519. *Let us make now Man in our image, &c.*] The author keeps closely to Scripture in his account of the formation of Man, as well as of the other creatures. See *Gen.* i. 26, 27, 28.

There are scarcely any alterations, but what were requisite for the verse, or were occasioned by the change of the person, as the Angel is speaking to Adam. And what additions are made, are plainly of the same original. See *Gen.* ii. 7. NEWTON.

Wherever thus created, for no place 535
 Is yet distinct by name, thence, as thou know'st,
 He brought thee into this delicious grove,
 This garden, planted with the trees of God,
 Delectable both to behold and taste;
 And freely all their pleasant fruit for food 540
 Gave thee; all sorts are here that all the Earth
 yields,
 Variety without end; but of the tree,
 Which, tasted, works knowledge of good and evil,
 Thou may'st not; in the day thou eat'st, thou die'st;

Ver. 535. *Wherever thus created, &c.*] The sacred text says, that "the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and *there he put* the Man whom he had formed," *Gen.* ii. 8. And afterwards, "The Lord God *took the Man and put him into the garden of Eden*, to dress it and to keep it," *v.* 15. This seems to imply that Man was created in some other place, and was afterwards brought into the garden of Eden; and therefore Milton says,

"Wherever thus created, for no place
 "Is yet distinct by name, thence, as thou know'st,
 "He brought thee into this delicious grove,
 "This garden &c." NEWTON.

Here Milton might allude, by the expression "He brought thee," to *II Esdras*, iii. 6, where the writer is addressing God on the subject of Adam's creation: "And Thou *leddest* him into Paradise, which thy right hand had planted."

Ver. 536. ——— *thence, as thou know'st,*] Before these words Tickell has placed improperly a full stop; and only a comma after *v.* 534, where there ought to be a full stop. He has been followed in this corrupt punctuation by Fenton, and Dr. Bentley. Dr. Newton restored the pointing of Milton's own editions, and observed that the construction is, "Wherever thus created, thence he brought thee &c."

Death is the penalty impos'd ; beware, 545
And govern well thy appetite ; lest Sin
Surprise thee, and her black attendant Death.

Here finish'd he, and all that he had made
View'd, and behold all was entirely good ;
So even and morn accomplish'd the sixth day : 550
Yet not till the Creator from his work
Defisting, though unwearied, up return'd,
Up to the Heaven of Heavens, his high abode ;
Thence to behold this new created world,
The addition of his empire, how it show'd 555
In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair,
Answering his great idea. Up he rode

Ver. 548. *Here finish'd he, and all that he had made*
View'd,] The pause is very remarkable, and admirably expresses the Creator surveying and contemplating his work,

————— “ and behold all was entirely good ;
“ So even and morn accomplish'd the sixth day.”

He finishes the account of the creation, in the same manner as Moses, *Gen. i. 31.* NEWTON.

It is probable, that he had also Plato in view, who represents the Creator surveying his great work, and delighted, as Milton expresses it, with its *answering his great idea* : Ὡς δὲ κινηθεὶς αὐτὸ καὶ ζῶν ἐκινήσει τῶν αἰδίων θεῶν γιγνόντος ἀγαλμα ὁ γενήσας πατήρ, ἡγάσθη τε, καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐκινήσειν ἀπεργάσασθαι. Plat. Opp. edit. Serran. tom. iii. 37.

Ver. 557. *Answering his great idea.*] The learned Harris, in his *Hermes*, asks, “ What do we mean by the term *Mind*? We mean *something*, *which*, *when it acts*, *knows what it is going to do* ; *something stored with Ideas of its intended Works*, agreeably to *which Ideas those Works are fashioned.*”

Follow'd with acclamation, and the sound
 Symphonious of ten thousand harps, that tun'd
 Angelick harmonies : The earth, the air 560
 Refounded, (thou remember'st, for thou heard'st,)
 The heavens and all the constellations rung,
 The planets in their station listening stood,
 While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.

He then observes, in an additional note, " that upon these principles Nicomachus, in his *Arithmetick*, p. 7, calls the *Supreme Being an Artist*—*ἐν τῇ τῷ τεχνίτῃ Θεῷ διανοία*. Where Philoponus, in his *manuscript comment*, observes as follows : *Τεχνίτην φησὶ τὸν Θεὸν, ὡς πάντων τὰς πρώτας αἰτίας καὶ τὰς λόγους αὐτῶν ἔχοντα*. He calls God an Artist, as possessing within himself the first Causes of all things, and their Reasons or Proportions. Soon after, speaking of those sketches, after which painters work and finish their pictures, he subjoins—*ἡσπὶρ ἢ ἡμεῖς, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα σκιαγραφήματα βλέποντες, ποιῶμεν τόδε τι, ἕτω καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς, πρὸς ἐκείνα ἀποδίδων, τὰ τῇδε πάντα κεκόσμηκε· ἀλλ' ἴσθιον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῇδε σκιαγραφήματα ἀτελῆ ἴσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ λόγοι ἀρχέτυποι καὶ παντίλειοί ἴσιν*. As therefore we, looking upon such sketches as these, make such and such particular things, so also the Creator, looking at those sketches of his, hath formed, and adorned with beauty, all things here below. We must remember, however, that the sketches here are imperfect ; but that the others, those REASONS or proportions, which exist in GOD, are ARCHETYPAL, and ALL-PERFECT. It is according to this Philosophy, that Milton represents God, after he had created this visible world, contemplating

" how it show'd

" In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair

" Answering his great idea."

Ver. 563. *The planets in their station listening stood,*] The station of a planet is a term of art, when the planet appears neither to go backwards nor forwards, but to stand still and keep the same place in its orbit. NEWTON.

Open, ye everlasting gates ! they sung, 565
 Open, ye Heavens ! your living doors ; let in
 The great Creator from his work return'd
 Magnificent, his six days work, a World ;
 Open, and henceforth oft ; for God will deign
 To visit oft the dwellings of just men, 570
 Delighted ; and with frequent intercourse
 Thither will send his winged messengers
 On errands of supernal grace. So sung
 The glorious train ascending : He through Heaven,
 That open'd wide her blazing portals, led 575
 To God's eternal house direct the way ;
 A broad and ample road, whose dust is gold
 And pavement stars, as stars to thee appear,
 Seen in the galaxy, that milky way,
 Which nightly, as a circling zone, thou seest 580

Ver. 565. *Open, ye everlasting gates ! &c.*] *Psalms*, xxiv. 7.

“ Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors ; and the King of glory shall come in.” This hymn was sung when the ark of God was carried up into the sanctuary on Mount Sion, and is understood as a prophecy of our Saviour's Ascension into Heaven ; and therefore is fitly applied by our author to the same Divine Person's ascending thither, after he had created the world. NEWTON.

Ver. 575. *That open'd wide her blazing portals,*] These words suggested to Pope the following verse in his *Messiah*.

“ See Heaven its sparkling portals wide display.”

Ver. 578. *And pavement stars,*] So, in B. iv. 975, “ the road of Heaven *star-pav'd*.” In Giustiniano's description of the palace of the Sun, the phrase *stellati pavimenti* occurs, *Canzon.* 1620, p. 217.

Powder'd with stars. And now on Earth the
seventh

Evening arose in Eden, for the sun
Was set, and twilight from the east came on,
Forerunning night ; when at the holy mount
Of Heaven's high-seated top, the imperial throne
Of Godhead, fix'd for ever firm and sure, 586
The Filial Power arriv'd, and sat him down
With his great Father ; for he also went
Invisible, yet staid, (such privilege

Ver. 581. *Powder'd with stars.*] So, in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 76, of the firmament :

“ *Powdred with stars* streaming with glorious light.”

And, in Drummond's *Poems*, 1616.

“ And joy'ft to look down to the azur'd bars

“ Of heauen, *powder'd* with troops of streaming *stars*.”

From these instances the expression seems to have been not uncommon. I may also add the illustration from the *Mir. of Magistrates*, cited by Mr. Warton in his *Observations on the Faery Queen of Spenser* ;

“ Then looking upwards to the heavens leames,

“ With night's bright *starres* thick *powdred* every where.”

The word *powder'd* is a term in heraldry, and signifies *strow'd* or *sprinkled*. Thus, in Legh's *Accedens of Armorye*, 1576, fol. 133. b. “ A chemise blanke, *powdred* and spotted with mullets fable.” And, in Bolton's *Elements of Armories*, 1610, p. 175. “ The choyce skinnies onely were by those Germanes *powdred* with spots.” The word is repeatedly spelt *pouldred* in this latter book ; and Mr. Warton, in his *Observations* before-mentioned, remarks, that it is rightly so spelt in Spenser, according to the etymology to which Skinner conjectures it to belong, viz. “ a *pulvere*, conspergo *pulvere*.” However, see the word *poudratius* in Du Cange.

Hath Omnipresence) and the work ordain'd, 590
 Author and End of all things; and, from work
 Now resting, blest'd and hallow'd the seventh day,
 As resting on that day from all his work,
 But not in silence holy kept: the harp
 Had work and rested not; the solemn pipe, 595
 And dulcimer, all organs of sweet stop,
 All sounds on fret by string or golden wire,
 Temper'd soft tunings, intermix'd with voice
 Choral or unison: of incense clouds,
 Fuming from golden censers, hid the mount. 600

Ver. 591. ———— *and, from work*

*Now resting, blest'd and hallow'd the seventh day,
 As resting on that day from all his work,]* The
 reason assigned by Moses, and almost in the very words, *Gen. ii.*
2, 3. NEWTON.

Ver. 597. *All sounds on fret by string or golden wire,]* On
 the finger-board of a bass-viol, for instance, are divisions athwart,
 by which the sound is regulated and varied: These divisions are
 called *frets*. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 598. *Temper'd soft tunings, intermix'd with voice
 Choral or unison:]* So, in Diodati's translation
 of the last *Psalms*:

“ Gl' organi, e gl' arpicordi,
 “ *Temprin' i lor accordi*
 “ Con vostre note armoniose, e dive.”

Ver. 599. ———— *of incense clouds,*

Fuming from golden censers, hid the mount.] The
 incense fuming from golden censers, seems to be founded on *Rev.*
viii. 3, 4. Milton had also seen their manner of *incensing* in the
 churches abroad, and seems to have approved something of it, by
 transferring it to Heaven. NEWTON.

Compare Herrick's address to God, *Noble Numbers*, 1647, p. 36.

Creation and the six days acts they sung
 Great are thy works, Jehovah! infinite
 Thy power! what thought can measure thee, or
 tongue

Relate thee? Greater now in thy return
 Than from the giant Angels: Thee that day 605

“ With *golden censers*, and with *incense*, here,
 “ Before thy virgin-altar I appear.”

And it seems from his *Circumcision-Song*, set by Henry Lawes, and sung before King Charles the First at Whitehall, that the custom of *incensing* was then observed in England.

Ver. 602. *Great are thy works, Jehovah! &c.*] Milton is generally truly orthodox. In this hymn the Angels intimate the unity of the Son with the Father, singing to both as one God, Jehovah. NEWTON.

Ver. 605. ——— *the giant Angels:*] Dr. Bentley reads “ the *rebel* Angels,” thinking that the word *giant* insinuates as if this was as fabulous as that of Jove. But the word insinuates no such thing: It is used, not to express the stature and size of the Angels, but that disposition of mind, which is always ascribed to giants, namely, a proud, fierce, and aspiring, temper. And this the Hebrew word *gibbor* signifies, which is rendered a *giant* in Scripture. PEARCE.

Dr. Pearce’s construction of the word *giant*, as if it meant only *fierce*, *proud*, and *aspiring*, is, in my opinion, a little forced: Nor yet do I think that there is any reason to change it into *rebel*, as Dr. Bentley would have it. Milton, I doubt not, intended to allude to Hesiod’s giant war; but I do not see with Dr. Bentley, that therefore he must insinuate that this relation is as fabulous as that. He probably designed, by this expression, to hint his opinion, that the fictions of the Greek poets owed their rise to some uncertain clouded tradition of this real event, and their giants were, if they had understood the story right, his fallen Angels. TYLER.

Thy thunders magnified ; but to create
 Is greater than created to destroy.
 Who can impair thee, Mighty King, or bound
 Thy empire ? Easily the proud attempt
 Of Spirits apostate, and their counsels vain, 619
 Thou hast repell'd ; while impiously they thought
 Thee to diminish, and from thee withdraw
 The number of thy worshippers. Who seeks
 To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
 To manifest the more thy might : his evil 615
 Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.
 Witness this new-made world, another Heaven
 From Heaven-gate not far, founded in view
 On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea ;

I do not agree, that Dr. Pearce's construction of the word *giant* is forced. For thus, in Shakspeare's *K. Hen.* viii. A. i. S. ii. Buckingham is called "a *giant* traitor," that is, as he is afterwards called, "a traitor *to the height*," a *most aspiring* traitor. But Milton's reading may be also defended and explained by the expression, which almost immediately follows ;

—————" the proud attempt
 " Of Spirits *apostate*,"—

apostate being the marginal reading in the Latin version of the Bible, for the term *giants*, Gen. vi. 4.

Ver. 619. *On the clear hyaline,*] This word is expressed from the Greek *ιαλινη*, and is immediately translated *the glassy sea*. For Milton, when he uses Greek words, sometimes gives the English with them, as in speaking of the rivers of Hell, B. ii. 577, &c. And so *the galaxy* he immediately translates *that milky way*. The *glassy sea* is the same as the *crystalline ocean*, v. 271. See Rev. iv. 6. NEWTON.

Of amplitude almost immense, with stars 620
 Numerous, and every star perhaps a world
 Of destin'd habitation ; but thou know'st
 Their seasons : among these the seat of Men,
 Earth, with her nether ocean circumfus'd,
 Their pleasant dwelling-place. Thrice happy
 Men, 625
 And sons of Men, whom God hath thus ad-
 vanc'd!

Created in his image, there to dwell
 And worship him ; and in reward to rule
 Over his works, on earth, in sea, or air,
 And multiply a race of worshippers 630
 Holy and just : Thrice happy, if they know
 Their happiness, and persevere upright !
 So sung they, and the empyrean rung
 With halleluiahs : Thus was sabbath kept.
 And thy request think now fulfill'd, that ask'd 635
 How first this world and face of things began,

Ver. 624. *Earth, with her nether ocean*] To distinguish it
 from the crystalline ocean, the waters above the firmament.

NEWTON.

Ver. 628. ———— *and in reward to rule*
Over his works,] *Psaln viii. 6, 7, 8. "Thou*
madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands, &c."

GILLIES.

Ver. 631. ———— *Thrice happy, if they know*
Their happiness,] *Virgil, Georg. ii. 458.*

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint!" NEWTON.

And what before thy memory was done
From the beginning ; that posterity,
Inform'd by thee, might know: If else thou
seek'st
Aught, not surpassing human measure, say. 649

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

THE
EIGHTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Adam inquires concerning celestial motions; is doubtfully answered, and exhorted to search rather things more worthy of knowledge: Adam assents; and, still desirous to detain Raphael, relates to him what he remembered since his own creation; his placing in Paradise; his talk with God concerning solitude and fit society; his first meeting and nuptials with Eve; his discourse with the Angel thereupon; who, after admonitions repeated, departs.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VIII.

THE Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he a while

Ver. 1. *The Angel ended, &c.*] In the first edition of this poem in ten books, here was only this line,

“ To whom *thus* Adam *gratefully* replied.”

This would have been too abrupt a beginning for a new book; and therefore, in the second edition of the poem in twelve books, when the seventh book was divided into two, the author changed this line, and changed it very much for the better, into the four first lines as they stand at present, only preserving part of this verse in the last of the four,

“ Then, as new wak'd, *thus gratefully* replied.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 2. *So charming left his voice, &c.*] Imitated probably from Apollonius, who elegantly describes the effect which the harp and voice of Orpheus had upon the Argonauts. When Orpheus had ended his song, they, says the poet, intent and bending towards him, still listened, and imagined him still speaking, i. 512.

Ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν φόρμιγγα σὺν ἀμβροσίῃ σκέθην αἰδῶ*
τοὶ δ' ἄματοι, λήξαντος, ἔτι πρῶχοντο κάρηνα
πάντες ὁμῶς, ὀρθοῖσιν ἱπ' ἕασιν ἱρμύειντες
Κηληθμῶ' τοῖον εἶπεν ἐνὶ λιλίπῃ Σίλκετι αἰδῶν.

The thought was originally Homer's, *Il.* ii. 41.

————— Σίλκῃ δὲ μιν ἀμφίχοντ' ἱμφή.

Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to
hear ;

Then, as new wak'd, thus gratefully replied.

What thanks sufficient, or what recompence 5
Equal, have I to render thee, divine
Historian, who thus largely hast allay'd
The thirst I had of knowledge, and vouchsaf'd

Lucian, *Somn.* 'Οτι γένε———ἡ φωνὴ τῶν ἀκέσθοντων ἱναυλος. And Socrates in Plato's *Crito* : Καὶ ἐν ἡμοῖς αὕτη ἡ ἤχη τέτων τῶν λόγων βομβεῖ, καὶ ποιεῖ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν. JORTIN.

Lord Monboddo is of opinion, that there is an allusion here to a very fine passage in the *Protagoras* of Plato ; where Socrates describes the effect that Protagoras's discourse had upon him, in similar terms to those with which Adam describes the effect of the Angel's speech : Πρωταγόρας μὲν τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀπιπαύσατο τῷ λόγῳ· καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ μὲν πολλὸν χρόνον κικηλημένος, ἐπεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔβλισπον, ὡς ἱρᾶντα τι ἐπιθυμῶν ἀκούειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡσθόμεν· ὅτι τῷ ὄντι παπταυμένος εἶη, μέγιστος πῶς ἑμαυτὸν ὥσπερ εἰ συναγείρας, εἶπον, κ. τ. λ.

There is a beautiful passage also in Dante, which Mr. Bowle has likewise noticed ; where the poet “ meets in the milder shades of Purgatory ” his friend Cafella the musician, whom “ he woos to sing ; ” and, the request being complied with, the ravishing effect of his Song is thus described, *Infern.* c. ii. 113.

“ Cominciò egli allor, sì dolcemente,

“ Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.”

Milton had undoubtedly been much pleased with this interview between Dante and Cafella, as his *Sonnet* to *Henry Lawes* evinces ; and it might now again present itself to his mind. See also *B.* ix. 736.

Ver. 3. —————: *still stood fix'd to hear ;*] Stood, from *stava*, Italian, *remained, continued* ; not that Adam was in a standing posture ; probably he sat, as at dinner, *B.* v. 433. 'Tis not his attitude which is here described, but his great attention. RICHARDSON.

This friendly condescension to relate
 Things, else by me unsearchable; now heard 10
 With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
 With glory attributed to the high
 Creator? Something yet of doubt remains,
 Which only thy solution can resolve.
 When I behold this goodly frame, this world, 15
 Of Heaven and Earth consisting; and compute
 Their magnitudes; this Earth, a spot, a grain,
 An atom, with the firmament compar'd
 And all her number'd stars, that seem to roll

Ver. 15. *When I behold this goodly frame, this world, &c.*]
 Milton, after having given so noble an idea of the creation of
 this new world, takes a most proper occasion to show the two
 great systems, usually called the Ptolemaick and the Copernican,
 one making the earth, the other the sun, to be the center;
 and this he does, by introducing Adam proposing very judiciously
 the difficulties that occur in the first, and which was the System
 most obvious to him. The reply of the Angel touches on the
 expedients the Ptolemaicks invented to solve those difficulties,
 and to patch up their system; and then intimates that perhaps the
 sun is the center, and so opens that system, and withal the noble
 improvements of the new philosophy; not however determining
 for one or the other: on the contrary he exhorts our progenitor
 to apply his thoughts rather to what more nearly concerns him,
 and is within his reach. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ——— *this goodly frame,*] So, in *Hamlet*, A. ii.
 S. ii. "This goodly frame, the earth."

Ver. 19. *And all her number'd stars,*] Number'd by whom?
 By the Lord their Creator, and by him alone, Psal. c.lvii. 4.
 "He telleth the number of the stars, he calleth them all by their
 names." Astronomers also tell their number, but it is of that
 small part only which they see and give names to. But neither

How Nature wise and frugal could commit
 Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
 So many nobler bodies to create,
 Greater so manifold, to this one use,
 For aught appears, and on their orbs impose 30
 Such restless revolution day by day
 Repeated; while the sedentary Earth,
 That better might with far less compass move,
 Serv'd by more noble than herself, attains
 Her end without least motion, and receives, 35
 As tribute, such a sumless journey brought
 Of incorporeal speed, her warmth and light;
 Speed, to describe whose swiftness number fails.

So spake our fire, and by his countenance seem'd
 Entering on studious thoughts abstruse; which
 Eve

40

Ver. 37. *Of incorporeal speed,*] Not that it was truly so; it signifies only very great speed, such as Spirits might use. *Speed almost spiritual*, as he expresses it a little afterwards, ver. 110. NEWTON.

Ver. 40. ————— *which Eve*

Perceiving, &c.] What a lovely picture has the poet here drawn of Eve! As it did not become her to bear a part in the conversation, she modestly sits at a distance, but yet within view. She stays as long as the Angel and her husband are discoursing of things, which it might concern her, and her duty, to know: but when they enter upon abstruser points, then she decently retires. This is preserving the decorum of character: and so Cephalus in Plato's *Republic*, and Scævola in Cicero's treatise *De Oratore*, stay only as long as it was suitable for persons of their character, and are made to withdraw when the discourse was less proper for them to hear. Eve's withdrawing is

Perceiving, where she sat retir'd in sight,
 With lowliness majestic from her seat,
 And grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
 Rose, and went forth among her fruits and
 flowers,
 To visit how they prosper'd, bud and bloom, 45
 Her nursery; they at her coming sprung,

juster, and more beautiful, than these instances. She rises to go forth with lowliness, but yet with majesty and grace. What modesty and what dignity is here!

Ovid says of Venus relating a story to her beloved Adonis, *Met.* x. 559.

“ Sic ait, æ mediis interferit oscula verbis.”

But how much more delicate is Milton's expression, and more becoming the chaste conjugal affection of Eve!

—————“ *from his lip*
 “ *Not words alone pleas'd her.*” ———

Tibullus says in praise of Sulpicia, IV. ii. 7.

“ Illam, quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia flectit,
 “ Componit furtim, subsequiturque decor.”

But how much farther has our author carried the thought! Not only grace, but *a pomp of winning Graces* waited upon her. She is not only graceful, but *Queen* of the Graces, as the Heathens supposed their Goddess of Love to be. NEWTON.

Ver. 46. ——— *they at her coming sprung, &c.*] The same pretty thought Marino applies to his Venus, which probably Milton might have in view, *Adon.* c. iii. st. 65.

“ L' herbe dal sole impallidite, e gialle
 “ Verdeggian tutte, ogni fior s'apre et alza:”

In the same manner also speaking of Adonis, c. vi. st. 146.

“ Tutto al venir d' Adon par che ridenti
 “ Rivesta il bel giardin novi colori.” THYER.

And, touch'd by her fair tendance, gladlier grew.
 Yet went she not, as not with such discourse
 Delighted, or not capable her ear
 Of what was high: such pleasure she reserv'd,
 Adam relating, the sole auditress; 51
 Her husband the relater she preferr'd
 Before the Angel, and of him to ask
 Chose rather; he, she knew, would intermix
 Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
 With conjugal caresses: from his lip 56
 Not words alone pleas'd her. O! when meet now
 Such pairs, in love and mutual honour join'd?
 With Goddess-like demeanour forth she went,
 Not unattended; for on her, as Queen, 60
 A pomp of winning Graces waited still,
 And from about her shot darts of desire

Ver. 47. *And, touch'd by her fair tendance, gladlier grew.*
 La Sylva de Medrano, p. 120.

“Qualquier planta que toca con lo mano,

“Qualquier arbol florecec.” BOWLE.

Ver. 59. *With Goddess-like demeanour forth she went,
 Not unattended,*] In the turn of expression in these
 two lines, Milton seems to allude to Homer's description of
 Helen, *Il.* iii. 142.

Ὀρμαῖτ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο, τίρει κατὰ δάκρυ χεῖρα·

Οὐκ ἔστι, ἅμα τῇσι κ. τ. λ. THYER.

Ver. 61. *A pomp of winning Graces*] An attendance, a
 train, of winning Graces, in the true sense of *pomp*, from the
 Greek *πίμπω*. See Mr. Warton's note, *On the Circumcision*, v. 10.

Ver. 62. *And from about her shot darts of desire*] Compare
 Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. i. S. iii.

“Out of the shot and danger of desire.”

Into all eyes, to wish her still in sight.
 And Raphael now, to Adam's doubt propos'd,
 Benevolent and facile thus replied. 65

To ask or search, I blame thee not; for Heaven
 Is as the book of God before thee set,
 Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn
 His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years:
 This to attain, whether Heaven move or Earth,
 Imports not, if thou reckon right; the rest 71
 From Man or Angel the great Architect

See also Greene's *Never too late*, 1616, part first,

“ Her eyes carried *darts* of fire,
 “ Feathered all with swift *desire*.”

And part second, of Cupid :

“ His bow of Steele, *darts* of fire,
 “ He *shot* amongst them sweet *desire*.”

Ver. 70. *This to attain*,] To attain to the knowledge of this hard question, *Whether Heaven or Earth move*, is of no concern or consequence to thee; *N'importe* (French) it matters not; says Mr. Hume. Mr. Richardson understands it in the same manner: his words are “ To attain to know whether the sun or the earth moves, is not of use to us.” But I believe that they are both mistaken in the sense of this passage, for I conceive it otherwise. *This to attain* is to be referred to what precedes, and not to what follows; and accordingly there is only a colon before these words in Milton's own editions, and not a full stop as in some others. *This to attain*, that is to attain the knowledge of *seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years*. It *imports not*, it matters not, it makes no difference, whether Heaven move or Earth, whether the Ptolemaick or the Copernican system be true. This knowledge we may still attain; *the rest*, other more curious points of inquiry concerning the heavenly bodies, God hath done wisely to conceal. NEWTON,

Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
 His secrets to be scann'd by them who ought
 Rather admire; or, if they list to try 75
 Conjecture, he his fabrick of the Heavens
 Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
 His laughter at their quaint opinions wide
 Hereafter; when they come to model Heaven
 And calculate the stars, how they will wield 80
 The mighty frame; how build, unbuild, contrive
 To save appearances; how gird the sphere
 With centrick and eccentric scribbled o'er,
 Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb:

Ver. 76. ——— *be his fabrick of the Heavens*
Hath left to their disputes,] “Mundum tradidit
 disputationi eorum, ut non inveniatur homo opus quod operatus est
 Deus, ab initio usque ad finem.” Vulg. Lat. *Eccles.* iii. 11.

HEYLIN.

Ver. 80. *And calculate the stars,*] The sense is, And form
 a judgement of the stars by computing their motions, distance,
 situation, &c. As, to *calculate* a nativity signifies to form a
 judgement of the events attending it, by computing what planets,
 in what motions, presided over that nativity. But Dr. Bentley
 takes *calculating the stars* here to mean counting their numbers.
 That might be one thing intended; but it is not all. To *calcu-*
late them, is to make a computation of every thing relating to
 them: the consequence of which is (in the old system especially)
centrick and eccentric, cycle and epicycle, and orb in orb.

PEARCE.

Ver. 83. *With centrick and eccentric*] *Centrick* or *concen-*
trick are such spheres whose center is the same with, and *eccen-*
trick such whose centers are different from, that of the earth.
Cycle is a circle: *Epicycle* is a circle upon another circle. Expe-
 dients of the Ptolemaicks to solve the apparent difficulties in
 their system. RICHARDSON.

Already by thy reasoning this I gueſs, 85
 Who art to lead thy offspring, and ſuppoſeſt
 That bodies bright and greater ſhould not ſerve
 The leſs not bright, nor Heaven ſuch journeys
 run,

Earth fitting ſtill, when ſhe alone receives
 The benefit: Conſider firſt, that great 90
 Or bright infers not excellence: the Earth
 Though, in compariſon of Heaven, ſo ſmall,
 Nor glittering, may of ſolid good contain
 More plenty than the ſun that barren ſhines;
 Whoſe virtue on itſelf works no effect, 95
 But in the fruitful Earth; there firſt receiv'd,
 His beams, unactive elſe, their vigour find.
 Yet not to Earth are thoſe bright luminaries
 Officious; but to thee, Earth's habitant. 99
 And for the Heaven's wide circuit, let it ſpeak
 The Maker's high magnificence, who built
 So ſpacious, and his line ſtretch'd out ſo far;
 That Man may know he dwells not in his own;
 An edifice too large for him to fill,

Ver. 102. ——— *and his line ſtretch'd out ſo far;*] A Scripture expreſſion: “Who hath ſtretched the line upon it?” *Job xxxviii. 5.* “As if God had meaſured the Heavens and the earth with a line. NEWTON.

Ver. 103. *That Man may know he dwells not in his own;*] A fine reflection, Mr. Stillingfleet obſerves; and confirmed by the authority of the greateſt philoſophers, who ſeem to attribute the firſt notions of religion in man to his obſerving the grandeur of the univerſe. See Cicero, *Tuſc. Diſp.* lib. 1. ſect. 28, and *De Nat. Deor.* lib. ii. ſect. 6.

Lodg'd in a small partition ; and the rest 105
 Ordain'd for uses to his Lord best known.
 The swiftness of those circles attribute,
 Though numberless, to his Omnipotence,
 That to corporeal substances could add
 Speed almost spiritual : Me thou think'st not
 flow, 110
 Who since the morning-hour set out from Heaven
 Where God resides, and ere mid-day arriv'd
 In Eden ; distance inexpressible
 By numbers that have name. But this I urge,
 Admitting motion in the Heavens, to show 115
 Invalid that which thee to doubt it mov'd ;
 Not that I so affirm, though so it seem
 To thee who hast thy dwelling here on Earth.
 God, to remove his ways from human sense,
 Plac'd Heaven from Earth so far, that earthly
 fight, 120
 If it presume, might err in things too high,
 And no advantage gain. What if the sun
 Be center to the world ; and other stars,
 By his attractive virtue and their own

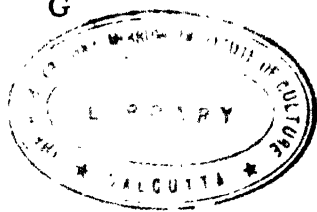
Ver. 108. *Though numberless,*] It may be joined in construction with *circles*, and not with *swiftness*, as Dr. Bentley conceived. And the sense is, as Dr. Pearce expresses it, that it is God's Omnipotence which gives to the circles, though so numberless, such a degree of swiftness. Or, if we join *numberless* in construction with *swiftness*, it may be understood as in v. 38.

“ Speed, to describe whose swiftness number fails.”

NEWTON.

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G



Incited, dance about him various rounds ? 125
 Their wandering course now high, now low,
 then hid,
 Progressive, retrograde, or standing still,
 In fix thou seest ; and what if seventh to these
 The planet earth, so stedfast though she seem,
 Insensibly three different motions move ? 130

Ver. 128. *In fix thou seest ; &c.*] In the *moon*, and the *five other wandering fires*, as they are called, B. v. 177. Their motions are evident ; and what if the earth should be a seventh planet, and move three different motions though to thee insensible ? The *three different motions*, which the Copernicans attribute to the earth, are the *diurnal* round her own axis, the *annual* round the sun, and the *motion of libration* as it is called, whereby the earth so proceeds in her orbit, as that her axis is constantly parallel to the axis of the world. *Which else to several spheres thou must ascribe, &c.* You must either ascribe these motions to several spheres crossing and thwarting one another with crooked and indirect turnings and windings : Or you must attribute them to the earth, and *save the sun his labour* and the *primum mobile* too, *that swift nocturnal and diurnal rhomb*. It was observed in the note on B. vii. 619, that, when Milton uses a Greek word, he frequently subjoins the English of it, as he does here, *the wheel of day and night*. So he calls the *primum mobile* : and this *primum mobile*, in the ancient astronomy, was an imaginary sphere above those of the planets and fixed stars ; and therefore said by our author to be *suppos'd* and *invisible above all stars*. This was conceived to be the first mover, and to carry all the lower spheres round along with it ; by its rapidity communicating to them a motion whereby they revolved in twenty-four hours. *Which needs not thy belief, if earth, &c.* But there is no need to believe this, if the earth, by revolving round on her own axis from west to east in twenty-four hours (*travelling east*) enjoys day in that half of her globe which is turned towards the sun, and is covered with night in the other half which is turned away from the sun. NEWTON.

Which else to several spheres thou must ascribe,
 Mov'd contrary with thwart obliquities ;
 Or save the sun his labour, and that swift
 Nocturnal and diurnal rhomb suppos'd,
 Invifible else above all stars, the wheel 135
 Of day and night ; which needs not thy belief,
 If earth, industrious of herself, fetch day
 Travelling east, and with her part averfe
 From the sun's beam meet night, her other part
 Still luminous by his ray. What if that light,
 Sent from her through the wide tranfpicuous air,
 To the terrestrial moon be as a star, 142
 Enlightening her by day, as ſhe by night
 This earth ? reciprocal, if land be there,
 Fields and inhabitants : Her ſpots thou ſeeſt
 As clouds, and clouds may rain, and rain produce
 Fruits in her ſoften'd foil, for ſome to eat 147
 Allotted there ; and other ſuns perhaps,

Ver. 145. ————— *Her ſpots thou ſeeſt*
As clouds,] It ſeems by this, and by another
 paſſage, B. v. 419, as if our author thought that the ſpots in the
 moon were clouds and vapours : but the moſt probable opinion
 is, that they are her ſeas and waters, which reflect only part of
 the ſun's rays, and abſorb the reſt. They cannot poſſibly be
 clouds and vapours, becauſe they are obſerved to be fixed and
 permanent. But (as Dr. Pearce obſerves) Mr. Azout, in the
Philofophical Tranſactions for the year 1666, thought that he had
 obſerved ſome difference between the ſpots of the moon as they
 then appeared, and as they are deſcribed to have appeared long
 before : And Milton, who wrote this poem about that time,
 might approve of Azout's obſervation, though others do not.

NEWTON.

With their attendant moons, thou wilt descry,
 Communicating male and female light ;
 Which two great sexes animate the world, 151
 Stor'd in each orb perhaps with some that live.
 For such vast room in Nature unpossess'd
 By living soul, desert and desolate,
 Only to shine, yet scarce to contribute 155
 Each orb a glimpse of light, convey'd so far
 Down to this habitable, which returns
 Light back to them, is obvious to dispute.

Ver. 150. *Communicating male and female light;*] The suns communicate male, and the moons female, light. And thus Pliny mentions it as a tradition, that the sun is a masculine star, drying all things: on the contrary, the moon is a soft and feminine star, dissolving humours: and so the balance of Nature is preserved, some of the stars binding the elements, and others loosing them, *Nat. Hist.* Lib. ii. cap. 100. NEWTON.

Ver. 155. ——— *yet scarce to contribute*] With the accent on the first syllable, as in May's *Edward the third*, 1635, lib. iii.

——— “ their severall shares of woe

“ Must contribute to Philip's overthrow.”

Ver. 157. ——— *this habitable,*] An adjective used substantively: Earth is understood: as in B. vi. 78, *this terrene*. *This habitable* is pure Greek, *Oikospair*, the inhabited, the earth.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 158. *Light back to them,*] I think that Dr. Bentley very justly objects to the word *Light* here: for, if the fixed stars convey only a *glimpse of light* to our earth, it is too much to say that she returns back to them *light* in general, which implies more than a glimpse of it. The Doctor therefore would read “ *Naught* back to them.” But this is not agreeable to the philosophy which Milton puts in Raphael's mouth: for it is intimated in ver. 140, that our earth does *send out light from her*; and if so, then some of her light might be returned back to the

But whether thus these things, or whether not ;
 Whether the sun, predominant in Heaven, 160
 Rise on the earth ; or earth rise on the sun ;
 He from the east his flaming road begin ;
 Or she from west her silent course advance,
 With inoffensive pace that spinning sleeps
 On her soft axle, while she paces even, 165
 And bears thee soft with the smooth air along ;
 Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid ;
 Leave them to God above ; him serve, and fear !
 Of other creatures, as him pleases best,
 Wherever plac'd, let him dispose ; joy thou 170
 In what he gives to thee, this Paradise
 And thy fair Eve ; Heaven is for thee too high

fixed stars. Suppose we should read "*Like back to them, &c.*" i. e. only a *glimpse of light*, just as much and no more than she receives. PEARCE.

Ver. 162. ——— *his flaming road*] Elegantly applying to the road what belongs to the sun. So, in B. i. 786, he says, "the moon wheels her *pale course*." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 164. ——— *that spinning sleeps*
On her soft axle,] Metaphors taken from a top, of which Virgil makes a whole simile, *Æn.* vii. 378. It is an objection to the Copernican system, that, if the earth moved round on her axle in twenty-four hours, we should be sensible of the rapidity and violence of the motion ; and therefore, to obviate this objection, it is not only said that *she advances her silent course with inoffensive pace that spinning sleeps on her soft axle*, but it is farther added to explain it still more, *while she paces even, and bears thee soft with the smooth air along* : for the air, the atmosphere, moves as well as the earth. NEWTON.

To know what passes there ; be lowly wise :
 Think only what concerns thee, and thy being ;
 Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
 Live, in what state, condition, or degree ; 176
 Contented that thus far hath been reveal'd
 Not of Earth only, but of highest Heaven.

To whom thus Adam, clear'd of doubt, replied.
 How fully hast thou satisfied me, pure 180
 Intelligence of Heaven, Angel serene !
 And, freed from intricacies, taught to live
 The easiest way ; nor with perplexing thoughts

Ver. 173. ————— *be lowly wise :*] “ Noli altum sapere.” HUMER.

Milton thus concludes a letter to his friend Deodate : “ Humilè sapiamus.”—Mr. Stillingfleet parallels the conclusion of the Angel's speech with the following passage in Apollon. Rhod. ii. 425.

Ἄλλὰ, φίλοι, φράζισθε Θιᾶς δολοίσσαι ἀρωγὴν
 Κύπριδος· ἐκ γὰρ τὰ κλυτὰ τεύχεα κίτται αἰδῶν.
 Καὶ δὲ μὲ μνηστὶ τῶνδ' ἐκπεσόντων ἐξήρισθε.

Ver. 180. ————— *pure*

Intelligence of Heaven,] *Intelligence* is a frequent term for the celestial beings, in Spenser. See also Drummond's *Cypresse Grove*, p. 430. “ And if these be so wonderful, what is the sight of Him, from whom and by whom all was created ; of whose glory to behold the thousand thousandth part, the most *pure* *Intelligences* are fully satiate ?”

Ver. 183. ————— *nor with perplexing thoughts &c.*] Compare this speech of Adam with that of the Chorus in *Samson Agonistes*,

“ Yet more there be who doubt his ways not just,
 “ As to his own edicts found contradicting,
 “ Then give the reins to *wandering thoughts*,

To interrupt the sweet of life, from which
 God hath bid dwell far off all anxious cares, 185
 And not molest us ; unless we ourselves
 Seek them with wandering thoughts, and notions
 vain.

But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
 Uncheck'd, and of her roving is no end ; 189
 Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learn,
 That, not to know at large of things remote
 From use, obscure and subtle ; but, to know
 That which before us lies in daily life,
 Is the prime wisdom : What is more, is fume,

“ Regardless of his glory's diminution ;
 “ Till, by their own perplexities involv'd,
 “ They ravel more, still less resolv'd,
 “ But never find self-satisfying solution.”

Ver. 193. *That which before us lies in daily life,*] Shadowed
 from a verse in Homer, so much admired and recommended by
 Socrates :

*Ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροις καὶ οὐτ' ἀγαθόν τι τέλειαι. BENTLEY.

Perhaps he might also have had the following lines of Juvenal
 in view, *Sat.* xiii. 20.

————— “ Dicimus autem
 “ Hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda vitæ,
 “ Nec jactare jugum, vitâ didicere magistrâ.”

Ver. 194. *Is the prime wisdom : What is more, is fume, &c.*] An excellent piece of satire this, and a fine reproof of those men who have all sense but common sense, and whose folly is truly represented in the story of the philosopher, who, while he was gazing at the stars, fell into the ditch. Our author in these lines, as Mr. Thyer imagines, might probably have in his eye the character of Socrates, who first attempted to divert his

Or emptiness, or fond impertinence : 195
 And renders us, in things that most concern,
 Unpractis'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek.
 Therefore from this high pitch let us descend
 A lower flight, and speak of things at hand
 Useful ; whence, haply, mention may arise 200
 Of something not unseasonable to ask,
 By sufferance, and thy wonted favour, deign'd.
 Thee I have heard relating what was done
 Ere my remembrance : now, hear me relate
 My story, which perhaps thou hast not heard ;
 And day is not yet spent ; till then thou seest 206
 How subtly to detain thee I devise ;
 Inviting thee to hear while I relate ;
 Fond ! were it not in hope of thy reply :
 For, while I sit with thee, I seem in Heaven ;
 And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear 211

countrymen from their airy and chimerical notions about the
 origin of things, and turn their attention to that *prime wisdom*,
 the consideration of moral duties, and their conduct in social
 life. NEWTON.

Ver. 211. *And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear &c.*] The
 poet had here probably in mind that passage in Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 45.

“ Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,

“ Quale sopor fessis in gramine ; quale per æstum

“ Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restinguere rivo.”

But the fine turn in the three last lines of Milton is entirely his
 own, and gives an exquisite beauty to this passage above Virgil's.
 See *An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients*, p. 37.

NEWTON.

This account of the pleasure which Adam experienced in con-
 versing with the Angel, bears a stronger allusion, I think, to

Than fruits of palm-tree pleafanteft to thirft
 And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
 Of fweet repaft; they fatiate, and foon fill,
 Though pleafant; but thy words, with grace
 divine

215

Imbued, bring to their fweetnefs no fatiety.

To whom thus Raphael answer'd heavenly
 meek.

Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of men,

Nor tongue ineloquent; for God on thee

Abundantly his gifts hath alfo pour'd

220

Inward and outward both, his image fair:

the addrefs of Telemachus to Menelaus, to which Mr. Stillingfleet
 alfo refers, *Odylf.* iv. 594.

Ἀτρεΐδῃ, μὴ δὴ με πολλὸν χρόνον ἰθάδ' ἴρυκε
 Καὶ γὰρ κ' εἰς ἱναυτὶν ἐγὼ παρὰ σοί γ' ἀνιχοίμην
 Ἥμῖος, ἐδὲ κε μ' οἶκε ἔλοι πάθος, ἐδὲ τοκῆων
 (Αἰὼς γὰρ μεθεοισιν ἱπποσί τε σείων ἀκύνει
 Τίτρομαι) κ. τ. λ.

Ver. 212. — *fruits of palm-tree*] The *palm-tree* bears a
 fruit called a date, full of fweet juice; a great reftorative to
 dry and exhausted bodies by augmenting the radical moiſture.
 There is one kind of it called *Palma Ægyptiaca*, which, from
 its virtue againſt drouth, was named *ἄδψος*, *ſitim ſedans*.

HUME.

Ver. 216. — *bring to their fweetnefs no fatiety.*] “How
 fweet are thy words to my taſte! yea, ſweeter than honey to my
 mouth,” *Pſalm* cxix. 103. GILLIES.

Ver. 218. *Nor are thy lips ungraceful,*] Alluding to *Pſalm*
 xlv. 3. “Full of grace are thy lips.” NEWTON.

Ver. 221. *Inward and outward both, his image fair:*] One
 would think by this word *outward*, that Milton was of the ſect
 of Anthropomorphites, as well as Materialiſts. WARBURTON.

Speaking, or mute, all comeliness and grace
Attends thee; and each word, each motion,
forms;

Nor less think we in Heaven of thee on Earth
Than of our fellow-servant, and inquire 225
Gladly into the ways of God with Man:
For God, we see, hath honour'd thee, and set
On Man his equal love: Say therefore on;
For I that day was absent, as befel,
Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure, 230
Far on excursion toward the gates of Hell;
Squar'd in full legion (such command we had)
To see that none thence issued forth a spy,

Milton, I conceive, means the *complete* nature of man, the *animal* and the *intellectual* parts united, which the learned Hale, treating of the words *In the image of God made he Man*, minutely and admirably illustrates. See his *Primitive Origination of Mankind*, 1677, pp. 311, 312.

Ver. 225. *Than of our fellow-servant,*] So the Angel says unto St. John, *Rev. xxii. 9. "I am thy fellow-servant."*

NEWTON.

Ver. 229. *For I that day was absent,*] The sixth day of Creation. Of all the rest, of which he has given an account, he might have been an eye-witness, and speak from his own knowledge: what he has said of this day's work, of Adam's original, to be sure, he must have had by hearsay or inspiration. Milton had very good reason to make the Angel absent now, not only to vary his speaker, but because Adam could best, or only, tell some particulars not to be omitted. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 233. *To see that none thence issued forth &c.*] As Man was to be the principal work of God in this lower world, and (according to Milton's hypothesis) a creature to supply the loss of the fallen Angels, so particular care is taken at his creation. The Angels, on that day, keep watch and guard at the gates of

Or enemy, while God was in his work ;
 Left he, incens'd at such eruption bold, 235
 Destruction with creation might have mix'd.
 Not that they durst without his leave attempt ;
 But us he sends upon his high behests
 For state, as Sovran King ; and to inure 239
 Our prompt obedience. Fast we found, fast shut,
 The dismal gates, and barricado'd strong ;
 But long ere our approaching heard within
 Noise, other than the sound of dance or song,

Hell, that none may issue forth to interrupt the sacred work.
 At the same time that this was a very good reason for the Angel's
 absence, it is likewise doing honour to the Man with whom he
 was conversing. NEWTON.

Ver. 242. ————— heard within

Noise, other &c.] Addison has pointed out the
 allusion, in this passage, to Virgil. Dr. Newton adds, that
 Alostfo is represented in like manner listening at the gates of
 Hell, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxxiv. st. 4.

“ L' orecchie attente allo spiraglio tenne,
 “ E l' aria ne sentì percossa, e rotta
 “ Da pianti, ed urli, e da lamento eterno,
 “ Segno evidente, quivi esser l' Inferno.”

But I am inclined to think that Dante was in Milton's mind,
Infern. c. iv.

“ Vero è, che 'n su la proda mi trovai
 “ Della valle d' abisso dolorosa,
 “ Che tuono accoglie d' infiniti guai :”

Especially as the Angel adds,

“ Glad we return'd up to the coasts of light ;”

for so it follows at the close of the canto in Dante :

“ Così n' andammo infino alla lumiera,
 “ Parlando cose, &c.”

Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.
 Glad we return'd up to the coasts of light 245
 Ere sabbath-evening : so we had in charge.
 But thy relation now ; for I attend,
 Pleas'd with thy words no less than thou with
 mine.

So spake the Godlike Power, and thus our Sire.
 For Man to tell how human life began 250
 Is hard ; for who himself beginning knew ?
 Desire with thee still longer to converse
 Induc'd me. As new wak'd from soundest sleep,
 Soft on the flowery herb I found me laid,
 In balmy sweat ; which with his beams the sun
 Soon dried, and on the reeking moisture fed. 256
 Straight toward Heaven my wondering eyes I
 turn'd,

And gaz'd a while the ample sky ; till, rais'd
 By quick instinctive motion, up I sprung,
 As thitherward endeavouring, and upright 260
 Stood on my feet : about me round I saw
 Hill, dale, and shady woods, and sunny plains,
 And liquid lapse of murmuring streams ; by these,
 Creatures that liv'd and mov'd, and walk'd, or
 flew ; 264
 Birds on the branches warbling ; all things smil'd ;

Ver. 255. *I. balmy sweat ;*] Mr. Stillingfleet remarks, that
 this is an allusion taken from the exudations of the *balsamum*,
 the most agreeably odorous of all trees known.

Ver. 265. *all things smil'd ;*
With fragrance and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.]

With fragrance and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.
Myself I then perus'd, and limb by limb
Survey'd, and sometimes went, and sometimes ran

Tonson's edition of 1727 points the passage thus :

————— " all things smil'd
" With fragrance ; and with joy my heart o'erflow'd."

Dr. Bentley has observed the same punctuation : And it has been followed also in some subsequent editions. But neither Milton's own editions, nor the meaning of the passage, support it. Adam is describing the sensations with which the charms of nature affected him, when he first wakened to existence : He awoke on a genial day, and in an enchanting place, amidst a profusion of delights ; *all things smil'd* : And, in consequence,

" With fragrance and with joy his heart o'erflow'd."

Besides, it may be observed, that, if the stop were removed after *smil'd*, so as to join the words *with fragrance* to *smil'd*, the classical imitation would be less conspicuous ; because Virgil has said concisely, like Milton, "*Omnia nunc ridet*," Ecl. vii. 55.

Ver. 266. *With fragrance*] By *fragrance* Milton has endeavoured to give an idea of that exquisite and delicious joy of heart Homer so often expresses by *ἡδύτης*, a word that signifies the fragrance that flowers emit after a shower or dew. Milton has used a like expression in his treatise *Of Reformation*, p. 2. edit. 1738. " Methinks a sovran and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears, and the sweet odour of the returning Gospel imbathe his soul with the *fragrance* of Heaven." RICHARDSON.

Mr. Richardson might have further observed, that Milton himself had expressed the same thought with more beauty if possible in B. iv. 153, where, speaking of Satan's approach to the garden of Paradise, he says,

————— " And of pure now purer air
" Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
" Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
" All sadness but despair." THYRA.

With supple joints, as lively vigour led : 269
 But who I was, or where, or from what cause,
 Knew not; to speak I tried, and forthwith spake;
 My tongue obey'd,¹ and readily could name
 Whate'er I saw. Thou Sun, said I, fair light,
 And thou enlighten'd Earth, so fresh and gay,
 Ye Hills, and Dales, ye Rivers, Woods, and
 Plains, 275
 And ye that live and move, fair Creatures, tell,
 Tell, if ye saw, how I came thus, how here?—
 Not of myself;—by some great Maker then,
 In goodness and in power pre-eminent :
 Tell me, how may I know him, how adore, 280
 From whom I have that thus I move and live,

Ver. 269. ————— *as lively vigour led :*] We have printed it after the first edition, though the second represents it thus,

————— “ and sometimes ran

“ With supple joints, *and* lively vigour led.”

This reading is followed likewise in some other editions, but we conceive it to be plainly an error of the press. NEWTON.

Ver. 272. ————— *and readily could name*

Whate'er I saw.] There is a contradiction between this and ver. 352, &c. In the first passage Adam says, that he could name whatever he saw, before he got into Paradise. In the second he says, that God gave him that ability when the beasts came to him in Paradise. For this last passage alludes to the rabbinical opinion, that he gave names according to their natures (clearer expressed, ver. 438 &c.) and the knowledge of their natures he says God then suddenly endued him with.

WARBURTON.

Ver. 281. *From whom I have that thus I move and live,*] “ In him we live and move,” *AB:* xvii. 28. GILLIES.

And feel that I am happier than I know.—
 While thus I call'd, and stray'd I knew not
 whither,
 From where I first drew air, and first beheld
 This happy light ; when, answer none return'd,
 On a green shady bank, profuse of flowers, 286
 Pensive I sat me down : There gentle sleep
 First found me, and with soft oppression seiz'd
 My droused sense, untroubled, though I thought
 I then was passing to my former state 290
 Insensible, and forthwith to dissolve :
 When suddenly stood at my head a Dream,
 Whose inward apparition gently mov'd
 My fancy to believe I yet had being,
 And liv'd : One came, methought, of shape
 divine, 295
 And said, “ Thy mansion wants thee, Adam ; rise,

Ver. 287. ————— *There gentle sleep &c.*] This and the following lines resemble the description of the sleep which fell on Ulysses, to which Mr. Stillingfleet refers, *Odyss.* xiii. 79.

Καὶ τῷ ἡδύμοις ὕπνιος ἐπὶ βλεφάροιςιν ἐπιπλεῖ
 Νύκτερος, ἡδιστος, θανάτῳ ἄγχι σταῖς ἰοκῶς.

Ver. 292. ————— *stood at my head a Dream,*] Where busy Fancy, in which those strange dark scenes are laid, has its seat and residence, according to Homer's philosophick observation, *Ilad.* ii. 16, 20.

Βῆ δ' ἄρ' Ὀνειρ, ἐπὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσι,
 Στῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ. HUME.

Ver. 296. — “ *Thy mansion wants thee,*] Rather “ *waits thee,*” says Dr. Bentley. But *wants* is right ; as in B. v. 365.

“ Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while

“ *To want.*” PEARCE.

" First Man, of men innumerable ordain'd
 " First Father ! call'd by thee, I come thy guide
 " To the garden of blifs, thy feat prepar'd."
 So faying, by the hand he took me rais'd, 300
 And over fields and waters, as in air
 Smooth-sliding without step, last led me up

Ver. 300. *So faying, by the hand he took me rais'd,*] It is said, that " the Lord God took the Man, and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it, and to keep it," *Gen.* ii. 15. Some commentators say, that Man was not formed in Paradise, but was placed there after he was formed, to show that he had no title to it by nature, but by grace : and Milton poetically supposes that he was carried thither sleeping, and was first made to see that happy place in vision. The poet had perhaps in mind that passage of Virgil, where Venus lays young Ascanius asleep, and removes him from Carthage to the Idalian fields, *Æn.* i. 691, &c. Or, if he had Scripture still in view, he had authority for such a removal of a person, *Acts* viii. 39, when " the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, and he was found at Azotus."

NEWTON.

See the Notes on B. vii. 535. And compare also Homer, *Il.* xx. 325 ; a passage, which Pope probably supposed Milton to have here had in view, by his adopting the same imagery and expression in his translation : It is where Æneas is protected by Neptune ; and the original concisely says,

Αἰνίαν δ' ἐπίπτεται ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς ἀέρος·

But the translation thus expands it :

——— " with force divine he snatch'd on high
 " The Dardan prince, and bore him through the sky,
 " Smooth-gliding without step, above the heads
 " Of warring heroes, and of bounding steeds."

Ver. 302. *Smooth-sliding without step,*] This expression alludes to the motion of the deities, as described by the Grecian writers. See the Note, B. vi. 71.

Pope, in the passage just cited, has written *gliding*, instead of *sliding* ; yet still he is indebted both for the thought and phrase

A woody mountain; whose high top was plain,
 A circuit wide, enclos'd, with goodliest trees
 Planted, with walks, and bowers; that what I
 saw 305
 Of Earth before scarce pleasant seem'd. Each tree,
 Loaden with fairest fruit that hung to the eye
 Tempting, stirr'd in me sudden appetite
 To pluck and eat; whereat I wak'd, and found
 Before mine eyes all real, as the dream 310
 Had lively shadow'd: Here had new begun
 My wandering, had not he, who was my guide
 Up hither, from among the trees appear'd,
 Presence Divine. Rejoicing, but with awe,
 In adoration at his feet I fell 315
 Submits: He rear'd me, and "Whom thou
 fought'st I am,"

to Milton: For the Cherubim descend *gliding* on the ground,
 B. xi. 629. where see the note.

I find the expression *smooth sliding* to have been before used,
 in order to describe the graceful motion of the dancers at Solo-
 mon's nuptials: See Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, p. 460.

" 'Tis not a dance, but rather a *smooth sliding*,

" All move alike after the musick's guiding."

Ver. 314. ————— *Rejoicing, but with awe,*] There
 should most certainly be a comma after the word *awe*, although
 there be no printed authorities to justify it. It gives a greater
 strength to the sense, as it confines the *awe* to the *rejoicing*, and
 thereby expresses that mixture of joy and reverence, which the
 Scriptures so often recommend to us in our approaches to the
 Divine Being. THYER.

Ver. 316. ————— *I am,*] These words
 make very good sense here in the common acceptance of them:

Said mildly, " Author of all this thou see'st
 " Above, or round about thee, or beneath.
 " This Paradise I give thee, count it thine
 " To till and keep, and of the fruit to eat : 320

but by Milton's placing them in such an emphatical manner at the end of the verse, I am of opinion that he might possibly allude to the name, which God gave himself to Moses, when he appeared to him in the bush, *Exod.* iii. 14. " God said unto Moses *I am that I am*; and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, *I am* hath sent me unto you." *John* viii. 58. " Before Abraham was, *I am*." GREENWOOD.

Ver. 320. "*To till and keep*," Dr. Bentley says that Paradise was not to be *till'd*, but the common Earth after the Fall: he therefore says that Milton designed it *To dress and keep*, as in *Gen.* ii. 15, *to dress it and to keep it*. This looks like a just objection, and yet it is not so in reality: for, if he had consulted the original, he would have found that Adam was to *till* as well before as after the Fall: while he continued in that garden, he was to *till* that; after his expulsion from thence, he was to *till* the common Earth. Our poet seems here to have approved of the opinion of Fagius (a favourite annotator of his) who, in his note on *Gen.* ii. 9, thinks that Adam was to have ploughed and sowed in Paradise, if he had continued there: and Milton here follows Ainsworth's translation, which has in *Gen.* ii. 15, *to till it and to keep it*: And Ainsworth's translation is more exact than that of our common Bible; for not only the original word עָבַד here used is the very same with that used in chap. iii. 23. and which is there rendered to *till*: but the *lxx.* likewise employ one and the same word ἐργάζομαι in both places, as the Vulgar Latin does *operari*: and the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin word alike signify to *labour, cultivate, or till*. In chap. iii. 23. our translators render it *till*, and they might as well have rendered it so chap. ii. 15. Since that word in the common acceptation signifies no more than to *cultivate*; and therefore Ainsworth has *till*, and Le Clerc *colere* in both places. Our English translators chose to use *dress*, here, as imagining it

" Of every tree that in the garden grows
 " Eat freely with glad heart ; fear here no dearth :
 " But of the tree whose operation brings
 " Knowledge of good and ill, which I have set
 " The pledge of thy obedience and thy faith, 325
 " Amid the garden by the tree of life,
 " Remember what I warn thee, shun to taste,
 " And shun the bitter consequence : for know,
 " The day thou eat'st thereof, my sole command
 " Transgress'd, inevitably thou shalt die, 330
 " From that day mortal ; and this happy state
 " Shalt lose, expell'd from hence into a world
 " Of woe and sorrow." Sternly he pronounc'd

(I suppose) more applicable to a garden. But Dr. Bentley should have consulted the ancient versions and the original, and not have trusted to our English translation, especially before he found fault with an author who understood the original so well as Milton did. PEARCE.

Ver. 323. *But of the tree &c.*] This being the great hinge on which the whole poem turns, Milton has marked it strongly. *But of the tree—Remember what I warn thee*—He dwells, expatiates upon it, from v. 323 to v. 336, repeating, enforcing, fixing, every word: 'Tis all nerve and energy. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 330. ——— *inevitably thou shalt die,*] " In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," as it is expressed, *Gen. ii. 17*: That is, *from that day* thou shalt become mortal, as the poet immediately afterwards explains it.

NEWTON.

This sense of the passage, is the same as the church of England's. See the second *Homily on the Passion*: " Adam took upon him to eat thereof (the forbidden tree) ; and in so doing he died the death, that is to say, *he became mortal*, he lost the favour of God, &c." Edit. 1683, p. 255. BOWLES.

The rigid interdiction, which resounds
 Yet dreadful in mine ear, though in my choice
 Not to incur; but soon his clear aspect 336
 Return'd, and gracious purpose thus renew'd.
 "Not only these fair bounds, but all the Earth
 "To thee and to thy race I give; as lords
 "Possess it, and all things that therein live, 340
 "Or live in sea, or air; beast, fish, and fowl.
 "In sign whereof, each bird and beast behold
 "After their kinds; I bring them to receive
 "From thee their names, and pay thee scälty
 "With low subjection; understand the same 345
 "Of fish within their watery residence,
 "Not hither summon'd, since they cannot change
 "Their element, to draw the thinner air."
 As thus he spake, each bird and beast behold
 Approaching two and two; these cowering low
 With blandishment; each bird stoop'd on his
 wing. 351
 I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and understood
 Their nature, with such knowledge God endued

Ver. 335. ———— *though in my choice*

Not to incur;] Therefore, when he had fallen, the interdiction, which in his state of innocence had resounded dreadful in his ear, is finely made by the poet to recur to his mind with additional terrour; and he earnestly desires to die, that "*the dreadful voice of God might no more THUNDER in his ears,*" B. x. 779.

Ver. 353. ———— *with such knowledge God endued &c.]* Wonderful was the knowledge of God bestowed on Adam, nor that part of it least, which concerned the naming things aright;

My sudden apprehension : But in these
I found not what methought I wanted still ; 355
And to the heavenly Vision thus presum'd.

O, by what name, for thou above all these,
Above mankind, or aught than mankind higher,
Surpassest far my naming ; how may I
Adore thee, Author of this universe, 360
And all this good to man ? for whose well being
So amply, and with hands so liberal,

As Cicero agrees with Pythagoras : “ Qui primus, quod summa sapientie Pythagore visum est, omnibus rebus nomina imposuit.” *De Nat. Deor.* lib. i. sect. 25. HUMPH.

See also Milton's *Prose-Works*, vol. i. 337. “ Adam, who had the wisdom given him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties, &c.”

Ver. 354. ————— *but in these*

I found not what methought I wanted still!] The account given by Moses is very short here, as in all the rest. *Gen.* ii. 19, 20. “ And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field: but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him.” And from this short account our author has raised what a noble episode! and what a divine dialogue from the latter part only! NEWTON.

Ver. 357. *O, by &c.*] It is an unreasonable as well as untheological supposition, that God gave Man the inspired knowledge of the natures of his fellow-creatures before the nature of his Creator; yet this our poet supposes. What seems to have misled him was, that, in the ordinary way of acquiring knowledge, we rise from the creature to the Creator. WARBURTON.

Thou hast provided all things : But with me
 I see not who partakes. In solitude
 What happiness, who can enjoy alone, 365
 Or, all enjoying, what contentment find?
 Thus I presumptuous ; and the Vision bright,
 As with a smile more brighten'd, thus replied.

What call'st thou solitude ? Is not the Earth
 With various living creatures, and the air 370
 Replenish'd, and all these at thy command
 To come and play before thee ? Know'st thou not
 Their language and their ways ? They also know,
 And reason not contemptibly : With these
 Find pastime, and bear rule ; thy realm is large.
 So spake the Universal Lord, and seem'd 376
 So ordering : I, with leave of speech implor'd,
 And humble deprecation, thus replied.

Ver. 372. ————— Know'st thou not

Their language and their ways ? | That brutes have a kind of language among themselves is evident and undeniable. There is a treatise in French of the language of brutes : and our author supposes that Adam understood this language, and was of knowledge superiour to any of his descendants, and besides was assisted by inspiration, *with such knowledge God endued his sudden apprehension.* He is said, by the School Divines, to have exceeded Solomon himself in knowledge. NEWTON.

The reader may derive much pleasure and information from the perusal of a treatise, entitled “ Free Thoughts upon the Brute Creation : Or, an Examination of Father Bougeant’s Philosophical Amusement concerning the *Language of Birds and Beasts* &c. By John Hildrop, M. A. 1742.” Father Bougeant’s work is probably the treatise, to which doctor Newton adverts.

Let not my words offend thee, Heavenly Power,
 My Maker, be propitious while I speak. 380
 Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,
 And these inferiour far beneath me set ?
 Among unequals what society
 Can sort, what harmony, or true delight ?
 Which must be mutual, in proportion due 385
 Given and receiv'd ; but, in disparity
 The one intense, the other still remiss
 Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove
 Tedious alike : Of fellowship I speak
 Such as I seek, fit to participate 390
 All rational delight : wherein the brute
 Cannot be human consort : They rejoice
 Each with their kind, lion with lioness ;
 So fitly them in pairs thou hast combin'd : 394

Ver. 379. *Let not my words offend thee,*] Abraham thus implores leave to speak, and makes intercession for Sodom, with the like humble deprecation : “ O, let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak,” *Gen.* xviii. 30. NEWTON.

Ver. 383. *Among unequals &c.*] The Italians say, “ *Fra gli uguali è l'amicitia.*” BOWLE.

Ver. 386. ——— *but, in disparity &c.*] But in inequality, such as is between brute and rational ; *the one intense*, man high, wound up, and strained to nobler understanding, and of more lofty faculty ; *the other still remiss*, the animal let down, and slacker, grovelling in more low and mean perceptions, can never suit together. A musical metaphor, from strings, of which the stretched and highest gave a smart and sharp sound, the slack a flat and heavy one. HUMZ.

Much less can bird with beast, or fish with fowl
 So well converse, nor with the ox the ape ;
 Worse then can man with beast, and least of all.

Whereto the Almighty answer'd, not displeas'd.
 A nice and subtle happiness, I see,
 Thou to thyself proposest, in the choice 400
 Of thy associates, Adam ! and wilt taste
 No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitary.
 What think'st thou then of me, and this my state ?
 Seem I to thee sufficiently possess'd
 Of happiness, or not ? who am alone 405
 From all eternity ; for none I know
 Second to me or like, equal much less.
 How have I then with whom to hold converse,

Ver. 395. *Much less can bird with beast, or fish with fowl
 So well converse, nor with the ox the ape ;
 Worse then can man with beast, &c.*] The sense
 of this passage, which Dr. Bentley seems not to have considered
 aright, is this : *The brute*, says Milton, v. 391, *cannot be human
 consort in rational delight*, that is, cannot converse with man in
 that way : And then he adds here, *Much less can bird well con-
 verse so with beast, &c.* that is, less still can one irrational animal
 converse in this way with another irrational animal ; not only if
 they be of a different species, as bird and beast, fish and fowl,
 are ; but even if they be of the same species, as the *ox* and *ape*
 are ; the most widely different creatures of any which are of the
 same species. But *least of all* can man converse in a rational
 way with any of the beasts or irrational creatures. Is not here
 a very proper gradation ? PEARCE.

Ver. 407. *Second to me or like,*] Horace, *Od.* I. xii. 18.
 "Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum." And see B. ix,
 609. NEWTON.

Save with the creatures which I made, and those
To me inferiour, infinite descents
Beneath what other creatures are to thee ?

410

He ceas'd ; I lowly answer'd. To attain
The highth and depth of thy eternal ways
All human thoughts come short, Supreme of
things !

Thou in thyself art perfect, and in thee

415

Is no deficiency found : Not so is Man,

But in degree ; the cause of his desire

By conversation with his like to help,

Or solace his defects. No need that thou

Shouldst propagate, already Infinite ;

420

And through all numbers absolute, though One :

But Man by number is to manifest

His single imperfection, and beget

Like of his like, his image multiplied,

Ver. 413. *The highth and depth of thy eternal ways &c.*] “ O the *depth* of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God ! How *unsearchable* are his judgements, and his ways *not finding out* !” Rom. xi. 33. HUME.

Ver. 421. *And through all numbers absolute,*] A Latin expression, “ Omnibus numeris absolutus,” as Cicero says ; and means perfect in all its parts, and complete in every thing ; “ Quod expletum sit omnibus suis numeris et partibus,” as Cicero elsewhere expresses it : But there seems to be a low conceit in the expression,

“ And through all *numbers* absolute, though *one*.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 423. *His single imperfection,*] That is, the imperfection of *him* single. A frequent way of speaking in Milton.

PEARCE.

In unity defective ; which requires 425
 Collateral love, and dearest amity.
 Thou in thy secrecy although alone,
 Best with thyself accompanied, seek'st not
 Social communication ; yet, so pleas'd,
 Canst raise thy creature to what highth thou wilt
 Of union or communion, deified ; 431
 I, by conversing, cannot these erect
 From prone ; nor in their ways complacence find.
 Thus I embolden'd spake, and freedom us'd
 Permissive, and acceptance found ; which gain'd
 This answer from the gracious Voice Divine. 436
 Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd ;
 And find thee knowing, not of beasts alone,
 Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thyself ;
 Expressing well the spirit within thee free, 440
 My image, not imparted to the brute ;
 Whose fellowship therefore unmeet for thee

Ver. 440. *Expressing well the spirit within thee free,*

My image,] Milton is, upon all occasions, a strenuous advocate for the freedom of the human mind against the narrow and rigid notions of the Calvinists of that age ; and here, in the same spirit, supposes the very image of God, in which Man was made, to consist in this liberty. The sentiment is very grand, and this sense of the words is, in my opinion, full as probable as any of those many which the commentators have put upon them ; in as much as no property of the soul of man distinguishes him better from the brutes, or assimilates him more to his Creator. This notion, though uncommon, is not peculiar to Milton ; for I find Clarius, in his remark upon this passage of Scripture, referring to St. Basil the great, for the same interpretation. See Clarius amongst the *Critici Sacri*. THYER.

Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike ;
 And be so minded still : I, ere thou spak'st,
 Knew it not good for Man to be alone ; 445
 And no such company as then thou saw'st
 Intended thee ; for trial only brought,
 To see how thou could'st judge of fit and meet :
 What next I bring shall please thee, be assur'd,
 Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self, 450
 Thy wish exactly to thy heart's desire.

He ended, or I heard no more ; for now
 My earthly by his heavenly overpower'd,

Ver. 444. ————— I, ere thou spak'st,

Knew it not good for man to be alone ;] For we read, *Gen. ii. 18.* “ *And the Lord God said, It is not good that the Man should be alone ; I will make him an help meet for him :* And then ver. 19, and 20, God brings the beasts and birds before Adam, and Adam gives them names, “ *but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him ;*” as if Adam had now discovered it himself likewise : and from this little hint our author has raised this dialogue between Adam and his Maker. And then follows both in Moses, and in Milton, the account of the formation of Eve, and institution of Marriage. NEWTON.

Ver. 453. *My earthly by his heavenly overpower'd,*] The Scripture says only, that “ *the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam,*” *Gen. ii. 21 ;* and our author endeavours to give some account how it was effected : Adam was overpowered by conversing with so superiour a being, his faculties having been all strained and exerted to the highth ; and now he sunk down quite dazzled and spent, and sought repair of sleep, which instantly fell on him, and closed his eyes. *Mine eyes be closed,* says he again, turning the words, and making Sleep a person, as the ancient poets often do. NEWTON.

It is probable, that Milton here had in view the celestial colloquy, and its consequence, related by Daniel of the angel and

Which it had long stood under, strain'd to the
 highth
 In that celestial colloquy sublime, 455
 As with an object that excels the sense
 Dazzled and spent, sunk down; and fought repair
 Of Sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd
 By Nature as in aid, and clos'd mine eyes.
 Mine eyes he clos'd, but open left the cell 460
 Of fancy, my internal fight; by which,
 Abstract as in a trance, methought I saw,
 Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape
 Still glorious before whom awake I stood:
 Who stooping open'd my left side, and took 465
 From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,
 And life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the
 wound,

himself: "How can the servant of this my Lord *talk* with this my Lord? for, as for me, straightway *there remained no strength in me*, neither is there breath left in me," *Dan. x. 17.*

Ver. 462. *Abstract as in a trance,*] "The Lord God caused a *deep sleep* to fall upon Adam" *Gen. ii. 21.* The word, that we translate a *deep sleep*, the Greek interpreters render by *trance* or *ecstasy*, in which the person is *abstract*, is withdrawn as it were from himself, and still sees things, though his senses are all locked up. So that Adam sees his wife, as he did Paradise, first in vision. NEWTON.

See also notes on v. 495. *infr.*

Ver. 465. ———— *open'd my left side, and took*

From thence a rib,] The Scripture says only "one of his ribs," *Gen. ii. 21.* But Milton follows those interpreters, who suppose this rib was taken from the *left* side, as being nearer to the heart. NEWTON.

See Mr. Bowle's note, B. x. 886.

But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and heal'd :
 The rib he form'd and fashion'd with his hands ;
 Under h s forming hands a creature grew, 470
 Man-like, but different sex ; so lovely fair,
 That what seem'd fair in all the world, seem'd now
 Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd
 And in her looks ; which from that time infus'd
 Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before, 475
 And into all things from her air inspir'd
 The spirit of love and amorous delight.

Ver. 471. ————— *so lovely fair,*

*That what seem'd fair in all the world, seem'd now
 Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd
 And in her looks ;]* This is the same with that

which Marino makes Venus say to Paris in the picture she is giving him of Helen, *Adon.* cant. ii. st. 173.

“ Si ben d’ogni bellezza in quel bel volto

“ Epilogato il cumulo s’ unisce,

“ E sì perfettamente insieme accolto

“ Quanto hà di bel la terra, in lei fiorisce.” *THYER.*

Ver. 475. *Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before,]* Similar to a passage in Fairfax’s *Tasso*, B. xix. st. 94.

“ A *sweetness strange* from that sweet voice’s sound

“ *Pierced my heart.*” *BOWLE.*

Ver. 476. *And into all things from her air inspir’d
 The spirit of love and amorous delight.]* *Lucretius*,
 iv. 1047.

“ *Seu mulier toto jactans è corpore amorem.*” *BENTLEY.*

The very same compliment Marino pays to the three Goddesses, when they descended upon mount Ida to present themselves before Paris, *Adon.* c. ii. st. 125.

“ Ne presente vi fù creata cosa,

“ Che non sentisse in sè forza amorosa.”

She disappear'd, and left me dark ; I wak'd
 To find her, or for ever to deplore
 Her loss, and other pleasures all abjure : 486
 When out of hope, behold her, not far off,
 Such as I saw her in my dream, adorn'd
 With what all Earth or Heaven could bestow,
 To make her amiable : On she came,
 Led by her heavenly Maker, though unseen, 489
 And guided by his voice ; nor uninform'd
 Of nuptial sanctity, and marriage rites :
 Grace was in all her steps, Heaven in her eye,

The Italian poet, with a surprising redundancy of fancy and beauty of expression, carries on and explains the same thought for six stanzas together, but the graver turn of our author's poem, and the divine character of the person Adam is talking to, would have made an imitation in this respect indecent and inconsistent.

THYER.

Ver. 478. *She disappear'd, and left me dark ;*] She that was my light vanish'd, and left me dark and comfortless. For *light* is in almost all languages a metaphor for *joy* and *comfort*, and darkness for the contrary. As Dr. Pearce observes, it is something of the same way of thinking that Milton uses in his Sonnet on his deceased wife ; after having described her as appearing to him, he says,

“ She fled, and day brought back my night.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 485. *Led by her heavenly Maker,*] For the Scripture says, “ The Lord God brought her unto the Man,” *Gen. ii. 22.* And Milton, still alluding to this text, says afterwards that she was *divinely brought*, v. 500. NEWTON.

Ver. 488. ——— *Heaven in her eye,*] Give me leave to quote a passage from Shakspeare's *Troil. and Cressida*, which seems to have been in our author's view, A. iv. S. iv.

In every gesture dignity and love.

I, overjoy'd, could not forbear aloud. 490

This turn hath made amends; thou hast fulfill'd
Thy words, Creator bounteous and benign,
Giver of all things fair! but fairest this
Of all thy gifts! nor envieſt. I now ſee
Bone of my bone, fleſh of my fleſh, myſelf 495

————— “ Lady Creſſid,
“ So pleaſe you, ſave the thanks this prince expects :
“ *The luſtre in your eye, Heaven in your cheek,*
“ Pleads your fair uſage.” NEWTON.

Perhaps Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaſter* might rather have been in Milton's view, where Philaſter ſays of women, A. iii. S. i.

“ *How Heaven is in your eyes.*”

Ver. 494. ————— *nor envieſt.*] Dr. Bentley here quarrels with the ſyntax and the expreſſion. But, as Dr. Pearce obſerves, the verb *envieſt* is joined in conſtruction to *thou haſt fulfill'd*; and the words *nor envieſt* mean, “ Nor thinkeſt this gift too good for me :” as in B. i. 259.

————— “ The Almighty hath not built
“ Here for his *envy*, will not drive us hence.”

Dr. Pearce alſo refers, for the ſame ſenſe of *envy*, to B. iv. 517, and B. ix. 770.

Ver. 495. *Bone of my bone, &c.*] That Adam, waking from his deep ſleep, ſhould, in words ſo expreſs and prophetick, own and claim his companion; gave riſe to that opinion, that he was not only aſleep, but intranced too, by which he ſaw all that was done to him, and underſtood the myſtery of it, God informing his underſtanding in his ecſtaſy. HUMER.

Milton here illuſtrates himſelf: “ But Adam, who had the wiſdom given him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties, no doubt but had the gift to diſcern perfectly that which concerned him much more; and to apprehend *at firſt ſight* the true fitneſs of that comfort which God provided

Before me : Woman is her name ; of Man
 Extracted : for this cause he shall forego
 Father and mother, and to his wife adhere ;
 And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul.

She heard me thus ; and though divinely
 brought, 500

Yet innocence, and virgin modesty,
 Her virtue, and the conscience of her worth,
 That would be woo'd, and not unfought be won,

him. And therefore spake in reference to those words which God pronounced before ; as if he had said, This is she, by whose meet help and society I shall no more be alone ; this is she, who was made my image, even as I the image of God ; not so much in body, as in unity of mind and heart," *Prose-Works*, vol. i. 337. edit. 1698.

Ver. 498. ————— *and to his wife adhere ;*] "*Ad hærebit uxori suæ*," as it is in the Vulgar Latin ; "*shall cleave unto his wife ; and they shall be one flesh*," says our English Bible, *Gen.* ii. 24.

How has Milton improved upon the last words, *and they shall be one flesh* ; and what an admirable climax has he formed !

" And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul."

NEWTON.

Ver. 502. ————— *the conscience of her worth,*] In our English version of the Bible, *conscience* is often used in this sense of *consciousness*. Thus, should have had no more *conscience of sins*," *Heb.* x. 2. " Some with *conscience* of the idol eat," *I Cor.* viii. 7. And thus *conscientia* is used by the Latin authors, as in Cicero de Senect. "*Conscientia bene actæ vitæ jucundissima est.*" PEARCE.

Ver. 503. *That would be woo'd, and not unfought be won,*] Mr. Bowle refers to Helena's remark in the *Midf. N. Dream* ;

" We cannot fight for love, as men may do ;

" We should be woo'd, and were not made to wooe."

Not obvious, not obtrusive, but, retir'd,
 The more desirable; or, to say all, 505
 Nature herself, though pure of sinful thought,
 Wrought in her so, that, seeing me, she turn'd:
 I follow'd her; she what was honour knew,
 And with obsequious majesty approv'd
 My pleaded reason. To the nuptial bower 510
 I led her blushing like the morn: All Heaven,
 And happy constellations, on that hour
 Shed their selectest influence; the Earth

The following passage in Shakspeare may be also added;

“ She’s beautiful, and therefore to be *woo’d*;

“ She is a woman, therefore to be *won*.”

And see Browne’s *Brit. Pastorals*, 1616. B. i. S. ii.

“ As birds wooe birds, maids should be *woo’d* of men.”

Ver. 509. *And with obsequious majesty approv’d*] How exactly does Milton preserve the same character of Eve in all places where he speaks of her! This *obsequious majesty* is the very same with the *coy submission*, *modest pride*, in the fourth book; and both not unlike what Spenser has in his *Epithalamium*,

“ Behold, how goodly my fair Love doth lie

“ In *proud humility*.” TYLER.

Ver. 511. *I led her blushing like the morn:*] So, in Fletcher’s *Faith. Shepherdess*, A. i. S. i. Perigot to Amoret;

————— “ O, you are fairer far

“ Than the chaste *blushing morn*.”

But Milton’s is an elegant comparison in the Eastern style; the *bride* of Solomon being likened to the morning, *Cant.* vi. 10.

“ Who is she that looketh forth *as the morning*, &c.?”

Ver. 513. *Shed their selectest influence;*] From this delightful passage Pope has formed the following couplet, in his *January and May*,

Gave sign of gratulation, and each hill ;
 Joyous the birds ; fresh gales and gentle airs 515
 Whisper'd it to the woods, and from their wings
 Flung rose, flung odours from the spicy shrub,
 Disporting, till the amorous bird of night
 Sung spousal, and bid haste the evening-star

“ Or that some *star*, with kind aspect to love,
 “ *Shed its selectest influence* from above.”

Ibid. ————— *the Earth*

Gave sign of gratulation, &c.] This is a copy from
 Homer, *Il.* xiv. 347.

Τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ Χθονὶ δῖα φῶς ἐοικηλὶα ποίηεν, καὶ τ. λ.

But Milton has greatly improved this, as he improves every thing, in the imitation. In all his copies of the beautiful passages of other authors he studiously varies and disguises them, the better to give himself the air of an original, and to make, by his additions and improvements, what he borrowed the more fairly his own ; the only regular way of acquiring a property in thoughts taken from other writers, if we may believe Horace, whose laws in poetry are of undoubted authority, *De Art. Poet.* v. 131.

“ Publica materies privati juris erit, si
 “ Nec circa vilem patulamque moraberis orbem,
 “ Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
 “ Interpres, &c.”

Milton indeed, in what he borrows from Scripture, observes the contrary rule ; and generally adheres minutely, or rather religiously, to the very words as much as possible of the original.

NEWTON.

Ver. 519. ————— *and bid haste the evening-star*

On his hill top, to light the bridal lamp.] The *evening-star* is said to *light the bridal lamp*, as it was the signal among the ancients to light their lamps and torches, in order to conduct the bride home to the bridegroom. Catullus,

“ Vesper adest, juvenes consurgite &c.”

On his hill-top, to light the bridal lamp. 520
 Thus have I told thee all my state, and brought
 My story to the sum of earthly blifs,
 Which I enjoy ; and must confefs to find
 In all things else delight indeed, but fuch
 As, us'd or not, works in the mind no change, 525
 Nor vehement desire ; these delicacies
 I mean of taste, fight, fmell, herbs, fruits, and
 flowers,
 Walks, and the melody of birds : but here
 Far otherwife, transported I behold,

On his hill-top ; for, when this star appeared eastward in the morning, it was said to rise on Mount Ida, Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 801 ; when it appeared westward in the evening, it was said to be seen on Mount Cæta, Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 30. Milton therefore writes in classical language : He does not mention any mountain by name, but says only *the evening-star on his HILL-TOP*, as appearing above the hills. And so Spenser says of the sun, *Fær. Qu.* i. ii. 1.

————— “ Phœbus’ fiery car
 “ In haste was climbing up the eastern *hill*.”

And Shakspeare, *Rom. and Jul.* A. ii.

“ Now is the sun upon the highmost *hill*
 “ Of this day’s journey.”

And this ceremony of the ancients, of lighting their bridal lamps and torches at evening, is alluded to more plainly in B. xi. 588.

“ And now of love they treat, till the *evening-star*,
 “ Love’s harbinger, appear’d ; then all in heat
 “ They *light the nuptial torch*, &c.” NEWTON,

He repeats the allusion in similar language, in his *Docr. and Discipl. of Divorce*, B. i. ch. iii, “ They *haste so eagerly to light the nuptial torch*,”



Transported touch ; here passion first I felt, 530
 Commotion strange ! in all enjoyments else
 Superiour and unmov'd ; here only weak
 Against the charm of Beauty's powerful glance.
 Or Nature fail'd in me, and left some part
 Not proof enough such object to sustain ; 535
 Or, from my side subducting, took perhaps
 More than enough ; at least on her bestow'd
 Too much of ornament, in outward show
 Elaborate, of inward less exact.
 For well I understand in the prime end 540
 Of Nature her the inferiour, in the mind
 And inward faculties, which most excel ;
 In outward also her resembling less

Ver. 537. ————— *at least on her bestow'd*

Too much of ornament, in outward show

Elaborate, of inward less exact.] The poet has

enlarged upon the same sentiment in his *Samson Agonistes* :

“ Is it for that such outward ornament

“ Was lavish'd on their sex, that inward gifts

“ Were left for haste unfinish'd, judgement scant,

“ Capacity not rais'd to apprehend,

“ Or value, what is best

“ In choice, but oftent to affect the wrong ?”

NEWTON.

Ver. 543: ————— *resembling less*

His image &c.] Milton here seems to adopt the opinion, that the image of God in Man, was the dominion given to him over the creatures ; contrary to the sense he follows at v. 440. But this is not the only instance where, in different places, he goes upon different hypotheses, as may best suit with his subject. See his different construction of the sons of God going in to the daughters of men, in *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Regained*. THYER.

His image who made both, and less expressing
 The character of that dominion given 545
 O'er other creatures : Yet when I approach
 Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
 And in herself complete, so well to know
 Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
 Seems wisest, virtuouest, discreetest, best : 550
 All higher knowledge in her presence falls
 Degraded ; Wisdom in discourse with her
 Loses discountenanc'd, and like Folly shows ;
 Authority and Reason on her wait,
 As one intended first, not after made 555
 Occasionally ; and, to consummate all,
 Greatness of mind, and Nobleness, their feat
 Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
 About her, as a guard angelick plac'd.

To whom the Angel with contracted brow. 560
 Accuse not Nature, she hath done her part ;
 Do thou but thine ; and be not diffident
 Of Wisdom ; she deserts thee not, if thou
 Dismiss not her, when most thou need'st her nigh,
 By attributing overmuch to things 565
 Less excellent, as thou thyself perceiv'st.
 For, what admir'st thou, what transports thee so,

Ver. 547. ———— *so absolute she seems*] *Absolute* was, in Milton's time, the common term for *perfect*. See Barret's *Alvearie*, and Minshew's *Guide into Tongues*. So *Marina* is described in Shakspeare's *Pericles*,

————— “ still she vies
 “ With *absolute* Marina.”

An outside ? fair, no doubt, and worthy well
 Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love ;
 Not thy subjection : Weigh with her thyself ; 570
 Then value : Oft-times nothing profits more
 Than self-esteem, grounded on just and right
 Well manag'd ; of that skill the more thou
 know'st,

The more she will acknowledge thee her head,
 And to realities yield all her shows : 575
 Made so adorn for thy delight the more,
 So awful, that with honour thou may'st love
 Thy mate, who sees when thou art seen least wife.
 But if the sense of touch, whereby mankind

Ver. 568. ————— and worthy well

Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love ;] He makes use of these three words, agreeably to Scripture : " So ought men to *love* their wives, as their own bodies : he that loveth his wife, loveth himself ; for no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and *cherisheth* it," *Ephes.* v. 28, 29. " Giving *honour* unto the wife," *I Pet.* iii. 7. NEWTON.

Milton had been thrice married ; and he now remembered the holy vow, so often repeated, to *love*, to *cherish*, and to *honour*, the wife ; as it is expressed in the form of solemnization of Matrimony.

Ver. 576. *Made so adorn &c.*] These verses contain a beautiful and instructive account of the end, for which God bestowed on Eve so much of ornament and awfulness. But two such participles as " made *adorn'd*" would have sounded very oddly together ; and therefore he has coined an adjective *adorn*, as the Italians have *adorno* for *adornato*. NEWTON.

Mr. Bowle observes, that Spenser uses this word as a substantive, *Faer. Qu.* iii. xii. 20.

" Without *adorne* of gold or silver bright."

Is propagated, seem such dear delight 580
 Beyond all other ; think the same vouchsaf'd
 To cattle and each beast ; which would not be
 To them made common and divulg'd, if aught
 Therein enjoy'd were worthy to subdue
 The soul of man, or passion in him move. 585
 What higher in her society thou find'st
 Attractive, human, rational, love still ;
 In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
 Wherein true love consists not : Love refines
 The thoughts, and heart enlarges ; hath his feat

Ver. 589. ————— Love refines

The thoughts, and heart enlarges ; &c.] So Spenser, to whom Milton seems to allude by his manner of expression, *Hymn of Love*,

“ Such is the power of that sweet passion,
 “ That it all fordid baseness doth expel,
 “ And the refined mind doth newly fashion
 “ Unto a fairer form.”

And *Faer. Qu.* iii. v. 2.

“ Ne suffereth it thought of ungentleness
 “ Ever to creepe into his noble brest ;
 “ But to the highest and the worthiest
 “ Lifteth it up, that else would lowly fall.”

See also iii. i. 1. But there is no doubt, I think, to be made, that both these admired poets had in view the refined theory of love of the divine Plato ; and that Milton in particular, in what he says here, had his eye more especially upon the following passage, where *the scale, by which we must ascend to heavenly love*, is both mentioned and described. Τὸτο γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρθῶς ἐπὶ τὰ ἱρωτικά ἵκναι, ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλῃ ἀγισθαι, ἀρχόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνη ἵκναι τῷ καλῷ, αἰὶ ἱπανίαναι· ὥσπερ σπαρασθμοῖς χρώμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ δόξῃ, καὶ ἀπὸ δούλῳ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ καλὰ σώματα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν σωματῶν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδεύμα-

In reason, and is judicious ; is the scale 591
 By which to heavenly love thou may'ſt aſcend,
 Not funk in carnal pleaſure ; for which cauſe,
 Among the beaſts no mate for thee was found.

To whom thus, half abaſh'd, Adam replied.
 Neither her outſide form'd ſo fair, nor aught 596
 In procreation common to all kinds,
 (Though higher of the genial bed by far,

τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ μαθήματα· ἵς' αὖ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἐπ' ἐκείνο τὸ μάθημα τελευτήσῃ, ὃ ἵς' ἐκ ἄλλης ἢ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆ καλῆς μάθημα, καὶ γινῶ αὐτὸ τελευτῶν ὃ ἵς' καλόν. Plat. *Conviv.* p. 211. tom. iii. edit. Serran. This is the more probable from what Milton ſays, in the account which he gives of himſelf, in his *Apology for Smeretymnus* : “ Thus, from the laureat fraternity of poets, riper years, and the ceafeleſs round of ſtudy and reading, led me to the ſhady ſpaces of Philoſophy ; but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato, and his equal Xenophon : Where if I ſhould tell ye what I learnt of chaſtity and love, I mean that which is truly ſo &c.” THYER.

Compare alſo the following expreſſion in his *Tetrachordon*, where, diſcourſing on the ſame ſubject, he pronounces the mere animal paſſion “ *far beneath the ſoul of a rational and free-born man.*”

Ver. 591. ————— and is judicious ;] To be *judicious* means here, to chooſe proper qualities in Eve for the object of love ; to love her only for what is truly amiable : *Not for the ſenſe of touch, whereby mankind is propagated*, v. 579 ; but for what Adam found *higher in her ſociety, human, and rational*, v. 586. PEARCE.

Ver. 598. (Though higher of the genial bed by far,) The *genial bed*, ſo Horace, “ *lectus genialis*,” Ep. I. i. 87. He had before applied the epithet *myſterious* to marriage, B. iv. 743.

NEWTON.

The *genial bed* is a phraſe alſo in his *Tetrachordon* ; ſo, in Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* c. v. ſt. 2. “ *I geniali letti* ;” and in Spenser's *Epithalam.* v. 399.

“ The bridal bowre and *genial bed* remain.”

And with myſterious reverence I deem,) “
 So much delights me, as thoſe graceful acts, 600
 Thoſe thouſand decencies, that daily flow
 From all her words and actions mix'd with love
 And ſweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
 Union of mind, or in us both one ſoul;
 Harmony to behold in wedded pair 605
 More grateful than harmonious ſound to the ear.
 Yet theſe ſubject not; I to thee diſcloſe
 What inward thence I feel, not therefore foil'd,
 Who meet with various objects, from the ſenſe
 Variouſly repreſenting; yet, ſtill free, 610
 Approve the beſt, and follow what I approve.
 To love, thou blam'ſt me not; for Love, thou
 fay'ſt,

Leads up to Heaven, is both the way and guide;
 Bear with me then, if lawful what I aſk:
 Love not the heavenly Spirits, and how their love
 Expreſs they? by looks only? or do they mix 615
 Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch?

To whom the Angel, with a ſmile that glow'd
 Celeſtial roſy red, Love's proper hue,

Ver. 604. *Union of mind,*] So, in his *Doctr. and Diſcipl. of Divorce*, B. i. ch. 2. “And indeed it is a greater bleſſing from God, more worthy ſo excellent a creature as Man is, and a higher end to honour and ſanctifie the league of Marriage, when as *the ſolace and ſatisfaction of the mind is regarded and provided for before the ſenſitive pleaſing of the body.*”

Ver. 618. *To whom the Angel, with a ſmile that glow'd Celeſtial roſy red,*] Does not Milton here mean that the Angel both ſmiled and bluſhed at Adam's curioſity?

Answer'd. Let it suffice thee that thou know'st
 Us happy, and without love no happiness. 621
 Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'st,
 (And pure thou wert created) we enjoy
 In eminence; and obstacle find none
 Of membrane, joint, or limb, exclusive bars; 625
 Easier than air with air, if Spirits embrace,
 Total they mix, union of pure with pure
 Desiring; nor restrain'd conveyance need,
 As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul with soul.

Ariosto makes the Angel Michael change colour upon a certain occasion, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxvii. st. 35.

“ Nel viso s' arrossì l' Angelo beato,

“ Parendogli che mal fosse ubbidito

“ Al Creatore —” THYER.

The Angel's smile is undoubtedly the smile of graceful sensibility. Pope was so pleased with this beautiful painting, that he has transferred the glow to Juno, where she listens to the courtship of Jupiter, on Ida, *Iliad* xiv. 373.

“ He spoke : the Goddess with the charming eyes

“ Glows with celestial red, and thus replies.”

Ver. 619. *Celestial rosy red,*] Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 46.

“ Loaden with fruit and apples *rosy red.*” THYER.

Mallet may be frequently found gleaning from our elder poets. Thus, in his *William and Margaret*,

————— “ the morning smil'd

“ With beams of *rosy red.*”

Ver. 627. ———— *union of pure with pure*

Desiring; nor restrain'd conveyance need,

As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul with soul.] The

two last of these verses Dr. Bentley would throw out: he has several objections to them; but they will be all answered by

But I can now no more ; the parting sun 630
 Beyond the Earth's green Cape and verdant Isles
 Hesperian sets, my signal to depart.
 Be strong, live happy, and love! But, first of all,
 Him, whom to love is to obey, and keep 634

considering the sense of the passage. Raphael had said that Spirits *mix total*; that is one circumstance, in which they differ from men: here he adds another circumstance of their difference, *viz.* they are so unrestrained that they *need no conveyance*, that is, need not move to meet one another, as our flesh does to mix with other flesh, and one soul with another soul, *mediante corpore*. In fewer words, Spirits (says Raphael) not only mix total, but they mix at a distance, and without approaching each other. This is Milton's sense; and now that unintelligible stuff (as the Doctor calls it) *need conveyance, as soul to mix with soul*, is become very easy to be understood. PEARCE.

Ver. 630. *But I can now no more ; the parting sun &c.*] The conversation was now become of such a nature that it was proper to put an end to it: And now the *parting sun beyond the Earth's green Cape*, beyond Cape de Verd the most western point of Africa, and *verdant Isles*, the islands of Cape de Verd, a knot of small islands lying off Cape de Verd, *Hesperian sets*, sets westward, from Hesperus the evening-star appearing there, *my signal to depart*, for he was only to stay till the evening. See B. v. 376. And he very properly closes his discourse with those moral instructions, which should make the most lasting impression on the mind of Adam, and to deliver which was the principal end and design of the Angel's coming. NEWTON.

But Milton had here his favourite, Apollonius, in view, *Argon.* iii. 1190.

Ἡλίου μὲν ἄπαυθι ἱερμὴν δύνει γαῖαν

Ἐσπέριος, νύκτας ὑπὲρ ἁπρίας Αἰθιοπῶν.

Ver. 634. *Him, whom to love is to obey,*] “ For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments,” I *John* v. 3.

His great command every body will understand to be the command not to eat of the forbidden tree, which was to be the trial of Adam's obedience. NEWTON.

His great command; take heed lest passion sway
 Thy judgement to do aught, which else free will
 Would not admit: thine, and of all thy sons,
 The weal or woe in thee is plac'd; beware!
 I in thy persevering shall rejoice,
 And all the Blest: Stand fast; to stand or fall 640
 Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.
 Perfect within, no outward aid require;
 And all temptation to transgress repel.

So saying, he arose; whom Adam thus
 Follow'd with benediction. Since to part, 645
 Go, heavenly Guest, ethereal Messenger,
 Sent from whose sovran goodness I adore!

Ver. 637. *Would not admit:*] *Admit* is used in the Latin sense, as in Terence, *Heaut.* A. v. S. ii. “*Quid ego tantum sceleris admisi miser?*” What great wickedness have I committed?

NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *thine, and of all thy sons, &c.*] Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 59. “*In te domus omnis inclinata recumbit.*”

HUME.

Ver. 645. *Follow'd with benediction.*] *Benediction* here is not *blessing*, as it is usually understood, but *well-speaking, thanks*. So, in *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 127.

“*Glory, and benediction, that is, thanks.*”

RICHARDSON.

“*To bless God,*” says Dr. Pearce, is a common phrase in religious offices. Thus, in the Psalms, “*Bless the Lord.*” And, in our Liturgy, the Song of the three Children is called the *Benedicite*.

Ibid. ——— *Since to part,*

Go, heavenly Guest, ethereal Messenger,

Sent from whose sovran goodness I adore!] These three lines furnish two examples of the figure *ellipsis*. In the first we must supply, *it is necessary*; so that the full phrase is, *since to part*

Gentle to me and affable hath been
 Thy condescension, and shall be honour'd ever
 With grateful memory : Thou to mankind 650
 Be good and friendly still, and oft return !

So parted they ; the Angel up to Heaven
 From the thick shade, and Adam to his bower.

is necessary. This is an ellipsis common enough in Greek, where the word *dei*, signifying *it must be*, is understood. The other is the ellipsis of the pronoun *him* ; so that the complete phrase is, *sent from him whose goodness I adore.* LORD MONBODDO.

Ver. 652. *So parted they ; the Angel up to Heaven
 From the thick shade, and Adam to his bower.*] It is very true, as Dr. Bentley says, that this conversation between Adam and the Angel was held in *the bower*. For thither Adam had invited him, B. v. 367.

“ Vouchsafe with us—in yonder bower

“ To rest.”

And the Angel had accepted the invitation, ver. 375,

—— “ lead on then where *thy bower*

“ O’ershades ——

—— “ So to the sylvan lodge

“ They came.”

But by *bower* in this place is meant his *inmost bower*, as it is called, in B. iv. 738, his place of rest. There was a shady walk that led to Adam’s bower. When the Angel *arose* v. 644, Adam *follow’d him* into this shady walk : and it was from this *thick shade* that they parted, and the Angel went up to Heaven, and Adam to his bower. NEWTON.

Compare the parting of Jupiter and Thetis in the first *Iliad* :

Τὼ γ’ ὡς βυλεύσαντι δίδτμαγον· ἡ μὲν ἵππειτα
 εἰς ἄλλα ἄλτο βαθείαν, ἀπ’ αἰγλήντοσ’ Ὀλύμπῃ,
 Ζεὺς δὲ εἰς πρὸς δῶμα.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

THE
NINTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, having compassed the Earth, with meditated guile returns, as a mist, by night into Paradise ; enters into the Serpent sleeping. Adam and Eve in the morning go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart : Adam consents not, alleging the danger, lest that enemy, of whom they were forewarned, should attempt her found alone : Eve, loth to be thought not circumspect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make trial of her strength ; Adam at last yields : The Serpent finds her alone ; his subtle approach, first gazing, then speaking ; with much flattery extolling Eve above all other creatures. Eve, wondering to hear the Serpent speak, asks how he attained to human speech, and such understanding, not till now ; the Serpent answers, that by tasting of a certain tree in the garden he attained both to speech and reason, till then void of both : Eve requires him to bring her to that tree, and finds it to be the tree of knowledge forbidden : The Serpent, now grown bolder, with many wiles and arguments, induces her at length to eat ; she, pleased with the taste, deliberates a while whether to impart thereof to Adam or not ; at last brings him of the fruit ; relates what persuaded her to eat thereof : Adam, at first amazed, but perceiving her lost, resolves, through vehemence of love, to perish with her : and, extenuating the trespass, eats also of the fruit : The effects thereof in them both ; they seek to cover their nakedness ; then fall to variance and accusation of one another.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IX.

NO more of talk where God or Angel guest
With Man, as with his friend, familiar us'd

Ver. 1. *No more of talk &c.*] These prologues, or prefaces, of Milton to some of his books, speaking of his own person, lamenting his blindness, and preferring his subject to those of Homer and Virgil and the greatest poets before him, are condemned by some critics: and it must be allowed that we find no such digression in the *Iliad* or *Æneid*; it is a liberty that can be taken only by such a genius as Milton, and I question whether it would have succeeded in any hands but his. As Voltaire says upon the occasion, I cannot but own that an author is generally guilty of an unpardonable self-love, when he lays aside his subject to descant upon his own person: But that human frailty is to be forgiven in Milton; nay, I am pleased with it. He gratifies the curiosity he has raised in me about his person; when I admire the author, I desire to know something of the man; and he, whom all readers would be glad to know, is allowed to speak of himself. But this however is a very dangerous example for a genius of an inferior order, and is only to be justified by success. See Voltaire's *Essay on Epick Poetry*, page 111.

But, as Mr. Thyer adds, however some critics may condemn a poet's sometimes digressing from his subject to speak of himself, it is very certain that Milton was of a very different opinion, long before he thought of writing this poem. For, in his discourse of the *Reason of Church-Government &c.* apologizing for saying so much of himself as he there does, he adds, "*For although a poet,*

To fit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repast; permitting him the while

soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might, without apology, speak more of himself than I mean to do; yet for me, sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me," vol. i. p. 59. edit. 1738. NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *where God or Angel guest*] Dr. Bentley says, that *God* did not *partake rural repast* with Adam, and therefore he thinks that the author gave it *where social Angel guest* &c. But *social* is useless here, because *familiar* follows in the next verse. The sense seems to be this; Where God or rather the Angel sent by him and acting as his proxy, used to sit familiarly with Man as with his friend &c. Hence Raphael is called Adam's *Godlike guest*, B. v. 351. PEARCE.

Milton, who knew and studied the Scripture thoroughly, and continually profits himself of its vast sublimity, as well as of the more noble treasures it contains, and to which his poem owes its greatest lustre, has done it here very remarkably. The episode, which has employed almost a third part of the work, and is a discourse betwixt the Angel Raphael and Adam, is plainly copied from the xviiiith chapter of *Genesis*, which (by the way) has a sublimity and air of antiquity to which Homer himself is flat and modern: Here *God or Angel guest* holds discourse with Abraham *as friend with friend, sits indulgent, partakes rural repast, permitting him the while discourse* in his turn. No more must now be sung of *such* a heavenly conversation. God himself, indeed, is not properly a speaker in it, though Adam in his part of it relates his having been honoured with the Divine Presence, and a *celestial colloquy*, B. viii. 455, as several others, B. xi. 318, &c. All hitherto is evident beyond contradiction. But *why God or Angel guest*? Read that chapter, and it will be seen that this remarkable expression is taken from the ambiguity there. *The Lord and the young Men* (always understood to be Angels) are used as words of the same signification,

Venial discourse unblam'd. I now must change ;
Those notes to tragick ; foul distrust, and breach

denoting that the Divine Presence was so effectually with his messengers, that Himself was also there; *Such privilege hath Omnipresence ; He went, yet staid*, as in B. vii. 589. The same Milton intimates in the passage before us ; and it is a master stroke of sublimity. RICHARDSON.

Mr. Richardson, in saying *The Lord and the Young Men* (*always understood to be Angels*) *are used as words of the same signification*, does not seem to be apprised, that it was an ancient opinion, and believed too by many of the more modern scholars, that the Lord in this passage was God the Son, and the two others only Angels. THYER.

Besides it may be questioned, whether Milton refined in this manner ; and it seems to me as if a difficulty was made where no difficulty is. The poet says, that he must now treat no more of familiar discourse with either God or Angel. For Adam had held discourse with God, as we read in the preceding book ; and the whole foregoing episode is a conversation with the Angel ; and, as this takes up so large a part of the poem, this is particularly described and insisted upon here. The Lord God, and the Angel Michael, both indeed afterwards discourse with Adam in the following books ; but those discourses are not familiar conversation as with a friend ; they are of a different strain, the one coming to judge, and the other to expel him from Paradise.

NEWTON.

Ver. 2. ———— *as with his friend, familiar, &c.*] Mr. Bowle here cites from Drayton's *Muses Elix.* 1630, p. 122, the description of Moses :

“ Him that of mortals onely had the grace,
“ To talke with God face opposite to face,
“ Euen as a man with his familiar friend.”

See also *Faer. Qu.* i. x. 56. But Milton was here instructed, as Drayton had been, by the divine historian himself, *Exod.* xxxiii. 11. “ And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend.”

Disloyal on the part of Man, revolt,
 And disobedience : on the part of Heaven
 Now alienated, distance and distaste,
 Anger and just rebuke, and judgement given, 10
 That brought into this world a world of woe,

Ver. 5. ————— *I now must change*

These notes to tragick ;] As the author is now changing his subject, he professes likewise to change his style agreeably to it. The reader therefore must not expect such lofty images and descriptions, as before. What follows, is more of the *tragick* strain, than of the *epick* : Which may serve as an answer to those criticks, who censure the latter books of the *Paradise Lost* as falling below the former. NEWTON.

Ver. 11. *That brought into this world a world of woe,*] The pun, or what shall I call it, in this line, may be avoided, as a great man observed to me, by distinguishing thus :

“ That brought into this world (a world of woe)

“ Sin and his shadow Death, &c.”

But I fancy the other will be found more agreeable to Milton's style and manner. We have a similar instance in B. xi. 627.

“ The world ere long a world of tears must weep.”

But in these instances Milton was corrupted by the bad taste of the times, and by reading the Italian poets, who abound with such verbal quaintnesses. NEWTON.

The great man, who proposed the parenthesis, was Atterbury ; and Dr. Warton considers it as a happy vindication of Milton from the degrading quaintness so often applied to the old reading. Dr. Lowth was also of the same opinion. I would moreover observe, that Atterbury's reading, which places *a world of woe* in opposition to *this world*, derives support from Milton's having employed the phrase in this manner, B. viii. 332.

—————“ expell'd from hence into *a world*
Of woe and sorrow.”

Sin and her shadow Death, and Misery
 Death's harbinger : Sad task, yet argument
 Not less but more heroick than the wrath
 Of stern Achilles on his foe pursued 15
 Thrice fugitive about Troy wall ; or rage
 Of Turnus for Lavinia disespous'd ;
 Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long
 Perplex'd the Greek, and Cythera's son ;
 If answerable style I can obtain 20
 Of my celestial patroness, who deigns

Ver. 12. ————— and Misery

Death's harbinger :] Dr. Bentley reads *Malady* ; because, as there is *Misery* after death, so there is *Misery* which does not usher in death, but invoke it in vain. But, by *Misery* here, Milton means sickness, disease, and all sorts of mortal pains. So, when Michael is going to name the several diseases in the lazaret-house represented to Adam in a vision, B. xi. 475, he says,

—————" that thou may'st know
 " What *misery* the inabstinence of Eve
 " Shall bring on men." PEARCE,

Ver. 20. *If answerable style I can obtain*] His theme was more sublime than the wrath of Achilles, celebrated by Homer in the *Iliad* ; of Turnus, by Virgil in the *Æneid* ; or of Neptune, by Homer in the *Odyssey* : It therefore demanded the invocation of *answerable style* to describe it. And, as Mr. Richardson observes, though several other particulars are specified as parts of his present subject, v. 6, &c. ; that of *the anger of God*, v. 10, was the consequence of those, and is his only subject. It is this which he places in opposition to *the anger of men and gods* : in which, as Dr. Newton remarks, he has the advantage of Homer and Virgil ; the anger of the true God being an " argument not less but more heroick."

Ver. 21. — *my celestial patroness,*] See Mr. Warton's note, *Eleg.* v. 6. " Ingeniumque mihi &c."

Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,
 And dictates to me slumbering ; or inspires
 Easy my unpremeditated verse :
 Since first this subject for heroick song 25
 Pleas'd me long choosing, and beginning late ;
 Not sedulous by nature to indite
 Wars, hitherto the only argument

Ver. 26. ——— *long choosing, and beginning late ;*] Milton intended pretty early to write an epick poem, and propos'd the story of king Arthur for the subject : But that was laid aside, probably for the reasons here intimated. The *Paradise Lost* he designed at first as a tragedy : It was not till long after, that he began to form it into an epick poem. And indeed, for several years, he was so hotly engaged in the controversies of the times, that he was not at leisure to think of a work of this nature ; and did not begin to fashion it in its present form, till after the Salmasian controversy which ended in 1655, and probably did not set about the work in earnest, till *after the Restoration*, so that he was “ long choosing, and beginning late.” NEWTON.

Aubrey relates, in his manuscript account of Milton, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, that the poet began his *Paradise Lost* about two years *before the Restoration*, and completed it about three years after that event.

Ver. 28. ——— *hitherto the only argument*

Heroick deem'd ;] By the Moderns as well as by the Ancients ; wars being the principal subject of all the heroick poems from Homer down to this time. But Milton's subject was different, and, whatever others may call it, we see he reckons it himself *An heroick poem*, though he names it only *A poem* in his title-page. It is indeed, as Warburton most excellently observes in his *Divine Legation of Moses*, B. ii. c. 4, the *third* species of epick poetry. For just as Virgil rivalled Homer, so Milton emulated both. He found Homer possessed of the province of *morality*, Virgil of *politicks*, and nothing left for him but that of *religion*. This he seized, as aspiring to share with

Heroick deem'd ; chief mastery to dissect
 With long and tedious havock fabled knights 30
 In battles feign'd ; the better fortitude
 Of patience and heroick martyrdom
 Unfung ; or to describe races and games,
 Or tilting furniture, imblazon'd shields,

them in the government of the poetick world ; and, by means of the superiour dignity of his subject, got to the head of that triumvirate which took so many ages in forming. These are the three species of the epick poem ; for its largest province is human action, which can be considered but in a moral, a political, or religious view ; and these the three great creators of them ; for each of these poems was struck out at an heat, and came to perfection from its first essay. Here then the grand scene is closed, and all farther improvements of the epick at an end. NEWTON.

A cruel sentence indeed, as Dr. Warton justly observes ; and a very severe Statute of *Limitation* ! enough, if it had any foundation, to destroy every future attempt of any exalted genius that might arise. But, in truth, the assertion is totally groundless and chimerical. Each of the three poets might change the stations here assigned to them. Homer might assume to himself the province of *politics* ; Virgil, of *morality* ; and Milton, of *both* ; who is also a strong proof that human action is not the largest sphere of epick poetry. Warton's Pope, vol. iv. p. 378.

Ver. 33. ——— or to describe races and games,] As the ancient poets have done ; Homer in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, Virgil in the fifth book of the *Æneid*, and Statius in the sixth book of his *Thebaid* : Or tilts and tournaments, which are often the subject of the modern poets, as Ariosto, Spenser, and the like. NEWTON.

Ver. 34. ————— imblazon'd shields,] The Italian poets in general are much too circumstantial about these trifling particulars. But I cannot help thinking, that Milton had principally in view Boiardo, who, in his catalogue of Agramante's troops, gives a most fastidious detail of imblazonry, having for

Impresses quaint, caparifons and steeds, 35
 Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights

above a hundred verses together nothing else scarcely but names of warriors, and descriptions of the devices and impresses which they bore in their arms, *Orland. Innam.* B. ii. c. 29. THYER.

Ver. 35. *Impresses quaint,*] Emblems and devices on the shield, alluding to the name, the nature, or the fortune, of the wearer. Sir Henry Wotton observes, that, at a tournament of which he was a spectator at court, "some of the *impresses* were so *dark*, that their meaning is not yet understood; unless perchance that were their meaning, not to be understood." These *quaint* and enigmatical emblems, often dark to all others, were known however to the ladies whom the knights served,

Ibid. ————— *caparifons and steeds,*

Bases and tinsel trappings,] The horses of knights were covered with rich housings that touched their feet, with *bases*, as Milton calls them, from the French *bas*, à bas, *upon the ground*: It is not easy to comprehend, says a learned and entertaining writer, how it was possible to fight in so embarrassing an equipage; but the ancient seals prove it was the custom to do so. See Mem. of Ancient Chivalry, p. 234.

Ver. 36. ————— *gorgeous knights*

At joust and tournament;] The knights were most superbly armed and equipped on these occasions. Sir H. Wotton seems to have thought it very indecorous, that, among the *tilters* at the tournament above-mentioned, "some *caparifons*, seen before, adventured to *appear again* upon the stage with a *little disguisement*."

The *tournament* is of French origin. The old romances are full of the descriptions of *joust* and *tournament*, performed at princely marriages, and other high solemnities. The *joust* usually meant the combat of lances between two persons only; the *tournament* included all martial games. The combatants were called *tilters* from their *running at each other* with their lances on horseback.

At joust and tournament ; then marshall'd feast
 Serv'd up in hall with sewers and seneshals ;
 The skill of artifice or office mean,
 Not that which justly gives heroick name 40
 To person, or to poem. Me, of these
 Nor skill'd nor studious, higher argument
 Remains ; sufficient of itself to raise
 That name, unless an age too late, or cold

Ver. 37. ————— *then marshall'd feast*

Serv'd up in hall with sewers, and seneshals ;] Here is another allusion to the magnificence of elder days ; the *Marshal of the hall*, the *Sewer*, and the *Seneschal*, having been officers of distinction in the houses of princes and great men. From Minshew's *Guide into Tongues* it appears, that the *Marshal* placed the guests according to their rank, and saw that they were properly served ; the *Sewer* marched in before the meats, and arranged them on the table, and was originally called *Affour* from the French *asseoir*, to set down, or place ; and the *Seneschal* was the household-steward, a name of frequent occurrence in old Law-books, and so in French “ *Le grand Seneschal de France*,” synonymous with our “ *Lord high steward of the king's household*.”

Ver. 41. ————— *Me, of these*

Nor skill'd] The usual construction in English is, “ *skilled in a thing* ;” but the Latin construction is, “ *peritus alicujus rei*.” LORD MONBODDO.

The construction, here adopted by Milton, occurs in Harington's *Ariosto*, c. iv. ft. 42.

“ *As holy men of humane manners skilled.*

Ver. 44. ————— *unless an age too late, or cold*

Climate,] He has a thought of the same kind in his *Reason of Church Government*, B. ii, speaking of epic poems : “ *If to the instinct of nature, and the imboldening of art, aught may be trusted ; and that there be nothing adverse in*

Climate, or years, damp my intended wing 45
Depress'd; and much they may, if all be mine,
Not hers, who brings it nightly to my ear.

The sun was sunk, and after him the star
Of Hesperus, whose office is to bring
Twilight upon the earth, short arbiter 50
'Twixt day and night, and now from end to end
Night's hemisphere had veil'd the horizon round:
When Satan, who late fled before the threats
Of Gabriel out of Eden, now improv'd
In meditated fraud and malice, bent 55
On Man's destruction, maugre what might hap
Of heavier on himself, fearless return'd.
By night he fled, and at midnight return'd
From compassing the earth; cautious of day,

our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories."

Or years, damp &c. For he was near sixty when this poem was published. And it is surprising that, at that time of life, and after such troublesome days as he had passed through, he should have so much poetical fire remaining. NEWTON.

Ver. 50. ————— short arbiter

'*Twixt day and night*,] This expression was probably borrowed from the beginning of Sidney's *Arcadia*, where, speaking of the sun about the time of the equinox, he calls him "an indifferent *arbiter* between the night and the day."

NEWTON.

Ver. 58. ————— return'd

From compassing the earth;] See *Job*, i. 7. "And the Lord said unto Satan, *Whence comest thou?* Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, *From going to and fro in the earth*,

Since Uriel, regent of the sun, descried 60
 His entrance, and forewarn'd the Cherubim
 That kept their watch ; thence full of anguish
 driven,
 The space of seven continued nights he rode
 With darknes ; thrice the equinoctial line

and from walking up and down in it." And in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 896, the passage is thus verified :

" I come, said he, from walking in and out,

" And compassing the earthlie ball about."

Ver. 63. *The space of seven continued nights he rode*

With darknes ; &c.] It was about noon that Satan came to the earth, and, having been discovered by Uriel, he was driven out of Paradise the same night, as we read in book the fourth. From that time he was a whole week in continual darknes for fear of another discovery. *Thrice the equinoctial line he circled ;* he travelled on with the night three times round the equator ; he was three days moving round from east to west as the sun does, but always on the opposite side of the globe in darknes. *Four times cross'd the car of night from pole to pole ;* did not move directly on with the night as before, but crossed over from the northern to the southern, and from the southern to the northern pole. *Traversing each colure.* As the equinoctial line or equator is a great circle encompassing the earth from east to west and from west to east again : so the colures are two great circles, intersecting each other at right angles in the poles of the world, and encompassing the earth from north to south, and from south to north again : and therefore, as Satan was moving from pole to pole, at the same time the car of night was moving from east to west, if he would keep still in the shade of night as he desired, he could not move in a straight line, but must move obliquely, and thereby cross the two colures. We have expressed ourselves as plainly as we can for the sake of those readers, who are not acquainted with these astronomical terms ; and the fact in short is, that Satan was three days compassing the earth from



He circled; four times cross'd the car of night 65
 From pole to pole, trav'ring each colure;
 On the eighth return'd; and, on the coast averſe
 From entrance or Cherubick watch, by ſtealth
 Found unſuſpected way. There was a place,
 Now not, though ſin, not time, firſt wrought the
 change, 70

Where Tigris, at the foot of Paradife,
 Into a gulf ſhot under ground, till part
 Roſe up a fountain by the tree of life:
 In with the river funk, and with it roſe
 Satan, involv'd in riſing miſt; then fought 75
 Where to lie hid; ſea he had ſearch'd, and land,
 From Eden over Pontus and the pool

eaſt to weſt, and four days from north to ſouth, but ſtill kept
 always in the ſhade of night; and, after a whole week's peregrina-
 tion in this manner, on the eighth night returned by ſtealth
 into Paradife. NEWTON.

Ver. 65. ————— *the car of night*] See Mr.
 Warton's note on *In Quint. Nov.* v. 70; and add Petrarch's ex-
 preſſion;

“ Notte 'l carro ſtellato in giro mena.”

Ver. 75. ————— *involv'd in riſing miſt,*] Homer, *Il.* i. 359.
 ————— ἀνίδυ πολυῆς ἀλός, ἥντ' ὁμίχλη. NEWTON.

And, as Mr. Stillingfleet obſerves, *Hymn. in Merc.* v. 141.

————— διὰ κληῖθρον ἰδμεν
 Αὐρὴ ὁπωρινῇ ἐναλίγκιος, ἥντ' ὁμίχλη.

Ver. 77. *From Eden over Pontus, &c.*] As we had before an
 astronomical, ſo here we have a geographical, account of Satan's
 peregrinations. *He ſearch'd both ſea and land, northward from*
Eden over Pontus, Pontus Euxinus, the Euxine Sea, now the
Black Sea, above Conſtantinople, and the pool Mæotis, Palus
Mæotis above the Black Sea, up beyond the river Ob, Ob or Oby,

Mæotis, up beyond the river Ob;
 Downward as far antarctick; and in length,
 West from Orontes to the ocean barr'd 80
 At Darien; thence to the land where flows
 Ganges and Indus: Thus the orb he roam'd
 With narrow search; and with inspection deep
 Consider'd every creature, which of all
 Most opportune might serve his wiles; and found
 The Serpent subtlest beast of all the field. 86

a great river of Muscovy near the northern pole. *Downward as far antarctick*, as far southward; the northern hemisphere being elevated on our globes, the north is called *up* and the south *downwards*; *antarctick* south the contrary to *arctic* north from ἀρκτικός the Bear, the most conspicuous constellation near the north pole; but no particular place is mentioned near the south pole, there being all sea or land unknown. *And in length*, as north is up and south is down, so in length is east or west; *west from Orontes*, a river of Syria, westward of Eden, running into the Mediterranean, *to the ocean barr'd at Darien*, the isthmus of Darien in the West-Indies, a neck of land that joins North and South America together, and hinders the ocean as it were with a bar from flowing between them; and the metaphor of *the ocean barr'd* is an allusion to Job xxxviii. 10, "*and set bars to the sea.*" *Thence to the land where flows Ganges and Indus*, thence to the East-Indies: *Thus the orb he roam'd*. NEWTON.

Ver. 86. *The Serpent subtlest beast of all the field.*] So Moses, Gen. iii. 1. "Now the serpent was *more subtle* than any beast of the field:" The *subtlety* of the serpent is commended likewise by Aristotle and other Naturalists: And therefore he was the fitter instrument for Satan, because (as Milton says agreeably with the doctrine of the best Divines) any sleights in him might be thought to proceed from his native wit and *subtlety*; but, observed in other creatures, might the easier beget a suspicion of a diabolical power acting within them, beyond their natural sense.

NEWTON.

Him after long debate, irresolute
 Of thoughts revolv'd, his final sentence chose
 Fit vessel, fittest imp of fraud, in whom
 To enter, and his dark suggestions hide 90
 From sharpest sight: for, in the wily snake
 Whatever sleights, none would suspicious mark,
 As from his wit and native subtlety
 Proceeding; which, in other beasts observ'd,
 Doubt might beget of diabolick power 95
 Active within, beyond the sense of brute.
 Thus he resolv'd, but first from inward grief
 His bursting passion into plaints thus pour'd.

O Earth, how like to Heaven, if not preferr'd
 More justly, feat worthier of Gods, as built 100

Ver. 89. ———— *fittest imp of fraud,*] Fittest *stock* to graft his devilish fraud upon, says Hume. The word indeed is derived from the Welsh *imp*, a shoot. And thus Chaucer, *Monke's Prolog.* v. 68.

“ Of feeble trees there comith wretched *impes*.”

Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, considers the word in Milton as meaning a *subaltern devil*; probably in allusion to the vulgar expression, “ The devil and his *imps*.”

Ver. 99. ———— *If not preferr'd*
More justly, &c.] I reckon this panegyrick upon the Earth among the less perfect parts of the poem. The beginning is extravagant, and what follows is not consistent with what the author had said before, in his description of Satan's passage among the stars and planets, which are said then to appear to him as other worlds inhabited. See B. iii. 566. The imagination, that all the heavenly bodies were created for the sake of the Earth, was natural to human ignorance; and human vanity might find its account in it: but neither of these could influence Satan. HEYLIN.

With second thoughts, reforming what was old !
 For what God, after better, worse would build ?
 Terrestrial Heaven, danc'd round by other Heavens
 That shine, yet bear their bright officious lamps,
 Light above light, for thee alone, as seems, 105
 In thee concentring all their precious beams
 Of sacred influence ! As God in Heaven
 Is center, yet extends to all ; so thou,
 Centring, receiv'st from all those orbs : in thee,
 Not in themselves, all their known virtue appears
 Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth 111
 Of creatures animate with gradual life

As it is common with people to undervalue what they have forfeited and lost by their folly and wickedness, and to overvalue any good that they hope to attain ; so Satan is here made to question whether Earth be not preferable to Heaven : but this is spoken of Earth in its primitive and original beauty before the Fall. As Mr. Thyer observes, Spenser has the very same thought upon a like occasion ; for, describing the gardens surrounding the temple of Venus, he says, *Faery Qn.* v. x. 23.

- “ That if the happy souls which do possess
- “ The Elysian fields, and live in lasting bliss,
- “ Should happen this with living eye to see,
- “ They soon would loath their lesser happiness.”

But Satan concludes that Earth must be best, because it was created last ;

“ For what God, after better, worse would build ?”

A sophistical argument worthy of Satan, and for the same reason Man would be better than Angels. But Satan was willing to insinuate imperfection in God, as if he had mended his hand by Creation, and as if all the works of God were not perfect in their kinds, and in their degrees, and for the ends for which they were intended. NEWTON.

Of growth, sense, reason, all summ'd up in Man.
 With what delight could I have walk'd thee round,
 If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange 115
 Of hill, and valley, rivers, woods, and plains,
 Now land, now sea, and shores with forest crown'd,
 Rocks, dens, and caves ! But I in none of these
 Find place or refuge ; and the more I see
 Pleasures about me, so much more I feel 120
 Torment within me, as from the hateful siege
 Of contraries : all good to me becomes
 Bane, and in Heaven much worse would be my
 state.

But neither here seek I, no nor in Heaven
 To dwell, unless by mastering Heaven's Supreme ;

Ver. 113. *Of growth, sense, reason, all summ'd up in Man.*] The three kinds of life, rising as it were by steps, the vegetable, animal, and rational ; of all which Man partakes, and he only ; he grows as plants, minerals, and all things inanimate ; he lives as all other animated creatures, but is over and above endued with reason. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 119. *Find place or refuge ;*] Dr. Bentley believes that the author gave it *Find place of refuge* : Another learned gentleman proposes to read *Find peace or refuge* : but it may be understood thus, *but I in none of these find place* to dwell in *or refuge* from Divine Vengeance. And this sense seems to be confirmed by what follows.

“ But neither here seek I, no nor in Heaven

“ To dwell, —————

“ Nor hope to be myself less miserable.”

that is (as Dr. Greenwood adds) I find no place *to dwell here*, for I do not *seek* or desire it ; and I expect no *refuge*, because I cannot *hope to be less miserable*. NEWTON.

Nor hope to be myself less miserable 126
 By what I seek, but others to make such
 As I, though thereby worse to me redound:
 For only in destroying I find ease
 To my relentless thoughts; and, him destroyed,
 Or won to what may work his utter loss, 131
 For whom all this was made, all this will soon
 Follow, as to him link'd in weal or woe;
 In woe then; that destruction wide may range:
 To me shall be the glory sole among 135
 The infernal Powers, in one day to have marr'd
 What he, Almighty styl'd, six nights and days
 Continued making; and who knows how long
 Before had been contriving? though perhaps
 Not longer than since I, in one night, freed 140
 From servitude inglorious well nigh half
 The angelick name, and thinner left the throng
 Of his adorers: He, to be aveng'd,

Ver. 127. ———— *but others to make such*

As I,] It is true, as Dr. Bentley remarks, that the syntax requires “to make such as *me*.” But may not the verb substantive *am* be understood, “to make others such as *I am*?” and is such an abbreviation uncommon? NEWTON.

Such an abbreviation is not uncommon. And the syntax is still right; the pronoun *I* being the nominative case to the verb *am* understood, and not the accusative governed of *make*.

Ver. 130. ———— *and, him destroyed,*] Milton sometimes uses the oblique case, instead of the nominative, in the ablative absolute. Thus, in B. vii. 142, “*us* dispossest’d.” Again, in *Samson*, v. 463, “*me* overthrown.” But, in general, he observes the English form of adapting the nominative to what is called the case absolute.

And to repair his numbers thus impair'd,
 Whether such virtue spent of old now fail'd 145
 More Angels to create, if they at least
 Are his created, or, to spite us more,
 Determin'd to advance into our room
 A creature form'd of earth, and him endow,
 Exalted from so base original, 150
 With heavenly spoils, our spoils: What he de-
 creed,
 He effected; Man he made, and for him built
 Magnificent this world, and earth his seat,
 Him lord pronounc'd; and, O indignity!
 Subjected to his service angel-wings, 155
 And flaming ministers to watch and tend
 Their earthy charge: Of these the vigilance
 I dread; and, to elude, thus wrapt in mist
 Of midnight vapour glide obscure, and pry
 In every bush and brake, where hap may find 160
 The serpent sleeping; in whose mazy folds

Ver. 146. ————— *if they at least*

Are his created,] He questions whether the Angels were created by God; he had before asserted that they were not, to the Angels themselves, B. v. 859.

“ We know no time when we were not as now;

“ Know none before us, self-begot, self-raised

“ By our own quickening power.” NEWTON.

Ver. 156. *And flaming ministers*] His Angels are “ a flaming fire,” Psalm civ. 4. HUME.

Ver. 157. *Their earthy charge:*] *Psalm xci. 11.* “ He shall give his angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways.”

Ver. 161. ————— *in whose mazy folds*] Dr. Bentley reads, “ in his mazy folds.” NEWTON.

To hide me, and the dark intent I bring.
 O foul descent ! that I, who erst contended
 With Gods to sit the highest, am now constrain'd
 Into a beast ; and, mix'd with bestial flime, 165
 This essence to incarnate and imbrute,
 That to the highth of Deity aspir'd !
 But what will not ambition and revenge
 Descend to ? Who aspires, must down as low
 As high he soar'd ; obnoxious, first or last, 170

Ver. 164. ————— *am now constrain'd &c.*] The construction is, am now forced into a beast, and to incarnate, &c. The verb *constrain'd* governs both the members; and there are innumerable instances (as Mr. Richardson observes) in Milton, and in the best Latin and Greek poets, of the same verb governing in one member of the period a noun &c. and in the other a verb &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 166. *This essence to incarnate and imbrute,*] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 468.

Ver. 169. ————— *who aspires, must down as low
 As high he soar'd ;*] Rather “ must sink as low,” says Dr. Bentley, because it is better to have some verb in the opposition than the adverb *down*. But yet this way of speaking is agreeable to what Milton says in B. x. 503.

“ But *up*, and enter now into full blifs.”

In both places the adverbs are used as verbs, or some verb of motion is to be supplied in the sense. PEARCE.

There is a most beautiful instance of the use of such adverbs for verbs in Shakspeare's second part of *Hen. IV.*

“ For now a time is come to mock at form ;

“ Henry the fifth is crown'd : *up*, Vanity !

“ *Down*, royal State !” NEWTON.

To basest things. Revenge, at first though sweet,
 Bitter ere long, back on itself recoils :
 Let it ; I reckon not, so it light well aim'd,
 Since higher I fall short, on him who next,
 Provokes my envy, this new favourite 175
 Of Heaven, this man of clay, son of despite,
 Whom, us the more to spite, his Maker rais'd

Ver. 171. ———— *Revenge, at first though sweet,
 Bitter ere long, back on itself recoils :*] The same
 sentiment as in *Comus*, v. 593.

“ But evil on itself shall back recoil.”

Ver. 173. *Let it ;*] Let revenge recoil on itself, *I reckon not*,
 I value not, *so it light well aim'd*, since higher I fall short, on
 him who next provokes my envy, so it light on Man, since I cannot
 accomplish my revenge on God. A truly diabolical sentiment
 this. So he can but be any ways revenged, he does not value
 though his revenge recoil on himself. NEWTON.

Ver. 176. ———— *son of despite,*] 'Tis a
 Hebraism by which wicked men are termed *sons of Belial*, Deut.
 xiii. 13 ; valiant men, *sons of courage*, II Sam. ii. 7 ; untame-
 able beasts, *sons of pride*, Job xli. 24 ; the disciples, *sons of light*,
 Luke xvi. 8. So Satan calls man the *son of despite*, the offspring
 of hatred and envy, created to encrease his punishment, by seeing
this man of clay substituted into that glorious station of him *for-
 lorn, outcast of Heaven*. HUME.

I have often wondered that this speech of Satan's escaped the
 particular observation of Addison. There is not in my opinion
 any one in the whole book that is worked up with greater judge-
 ment, or better suited to the character of the speaker. There is
 all the horror and malignity of a fiend-like Spirit expressed, and
 yet this is so artfully tempered with Satan's sudden starts of re-
 collection upon the meanness and folly of what he was going to
 undertake, as plainly show the remains of the Arch-Angel, and
 the ruins of a superiour nature. THYER.

From dust : Spite then with spite is best repaid.

So saying, through each thicket dank or dry,
Like a black mist low-creeping, he held on 180
His midnight-search, where soonest he might find
The serpent : him fast-sleeping soon he found
In labyrinth of many a round self-roll'd,
His head the midst, well stor'd with subtle wiles :
Not yet in horrid shade or dismal den, 185
Nor nocent yet ; but, on the grassy herb,
Fearless unfear'd he slept : in at his mouth
The Devil enter'd ; and his brutal sense,
In heart or head, possessing, soon inspir'd
With act intelligential ; but his sleep 190
Disturb'd not, waiting close the approach of morn.
Now, when as sacred light began to dawn

Ver. 178. ———— *Spite then with spite is best repaid.*] *Æschylus, Prometheus. v. 944.*

Οὕτως ἐκρίξεν τὸς ἐκρίξαντας χρεῶν. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 186. *Nor nocent yet ;*] Thus it is in the second and in the subsequent editions : In the first edition it is, “ *Not nocent yet.*” NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *grassy herb,*] So we have in Virgil, “ *graminis herbam,*” *Ecl. v. 26.* NEWTON.

Ver. 187. ———— *in at his mouth*
The Devil enter'd ; &c.] Mr. Stillingfleet here refers to Homer, *Il. xvii. 210.*

————— ΔΥ δὲ μιν Ἄρης
Δεινὸς ἐνυάλιος· ὠλήσθην δ' ἄρα οἱ μέλα' ἐντὸς
Ἄλκης καὶ σθένης.

Ver. 192. *Now, when as sacred light &c.*] This is the morning of the ninth day, as far we can reckon the time in this poem ; a great part of the action lying out of the sphere of day. The

In Eden on the humid flowers, that breath'd
 Their morning incense, when all things, that
 breathe, 194
 From the Earth's great altar send up silent praise
 To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
 With grateful smell, forth came the human pair,
 And join'd their vocal worship to the quire

first day we reckon that wherein Satan came to the earth; the space of seven days after that he was coasting round the earth; he comes into Paradise again by night, and this is the beginning of the ninth day, and the last of man's innocence and happiness.

The morning is often called *sacred* by the poets, because that time is usually allotted to sacrifice and devotion, as Eusebius says in his remarks on Homer. NEWTON.

Ver. 193. *In Eden on the humid flowers, that breath'd
 Their morning incense, when all things, that breathe,*]
 Here Milton gives to the English word *breathe*, which is generally used in a more confined sense, the extensive signification of the Latin *spirare*; imitating perhaps Spenser, *Faer. Qu. i. iv. 38*.

“With pleasure of the *breathing* fields yfed.”

THYER.

This beautiful passage in Milton, has been the parent of two elegant imitations. For thus Pope, in his *Messiah*,

“See, Nature hastes her earliest wreathes to bring,

“With all the *incense* of the *breathing* spring.”

And Gray, in his *Elegy*,

“The breezy call of *incense-breathing* morn.”

Compare Sir Richard Tempest's *Entertainment of Solitariness*, 1649, p. 10. “Morning Thoughts.—The *flowers* draw forth their severall flames and beauties, *offering sweet incense* from their fragrant bosomes.”—

Ver. 197. *With grateful smell,*] This is in the style of the Eastern poetry. So it is said, “The Lord smelled a sweet savour.” *Gen. viii. 21*. NEWTON.

Of creatures wanting voice ; that done, partake
 The season, prime for sweetest scents and airs : 200
 Then commune, how that day they best may ply
 Their growing work : for much their work out-
 grew

The hands' despatch of two gardening so wide,
 And Eve first to her husband thus began.

Adam, well may we labour still to dress 205
 This garden, still to tend plant, herb, and flower,
 Our pleasant task enjoin'd ; but, till more hands
 Aid us, the work under our labour grows,
 Luxurious by restraint ; what we by day
 Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind, 210
 One night or two with wanton growth derides
 Tending to wild. Thou therefore now advise,
 Or bear what to my mind first thoughts present:
 Let us divide our labours ; thou, where choice
 Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to
 wind 215

The woodbine round this arbour, or direct
 The clasping ivy where to climb ; while I,

Ver. 211. *One night or two with wanton growth derides
 Tending to wild.*] This is an improvement upon
 Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 20.

“ Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,
 “ Exiguâ tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.”

Ver. 213. *Or bear*] So it is in the second edition ; but in
 the first, “ *Or bear.*” Either will do ; and we find sometimes
 the one, and sometimes the other, in the following editions.

NEWTON,

In yonder spring of roses intermix'd
 With myrtle, find what to redress till noon :
 For, while so near each other thus all day 220
 Our task we choose, what wonder if so near
 Looks intervene and smiles, or object new
 Casual discourse draw on ; which intermits
 Our day's work, brought to little, though begun
 Early, and the hour of supper comes unearn'd ? 225
 To whom mild answer Adam thus return'd.
 Sole Eve, associate sole, to me beyond

Ver. 221. ————— *what wonder if so near*

Looks intervene and smiles,] The repetition, *so near*, is extremely beautiful, says Mr. Stillingfleet ; and naturally comes in here, as the chief intent of Eve's speech was to persuade Adam to let her go from him : She therefore dwells on *so near*, as the great obstacle to their working to any purpose ;

“ For while *so near* each other thus all day

“ Our task we choose, what wonder if *so near*

“ Looks intervene and smiles, &c.”

Ver. 227. *Sole Eve, associate sole,*] As she had the name of *Eve*, upon account of her being the *mother of all living*, Gen. iii. 20 ; the epithet *sole* is as properly applied to *Eve*, as to *associate*. PEARCE.

Ibid. ————— *to me beyond*

Compare] Dr. Newton here says, that Milton has converted the verb *compare* into a noun. But *compare* had been employed for *comparison* by preceding poets ; and therefore Milton often uses it. Many instances occur in this poem. See also his *Samson Agonistes*, v. 556. Thus Spenser, *Britain's Ida*, c. v. ver. 67.

“ *Beyond compare* such nothing is terrestrial,”

And Shakspeare, *Tril. and Cress.* A. iii. S. ii.

“ Full of protest, and oath, and big *compare*.”

Compare above all living creatures dear !
 Well hast thou motion'd, well thy thoughts em-
 ploy'd, 229

How we might best fulfil the work which here
 God hath assign'd us ; nor of me shalt pass
 Unprais'd : for nothing lovelier can be found
 In woman, than to study household good,
 And good works in her husband to promote.
 Yet not so strictly hath our Lord impos'd 235
 Labour, as to debar us when we need
 Refreshment, whether food, or talk between,
 Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse
 Of looks and smiles ; for smiles from reason flow,
 To brute denied, and are of love the food ; 240
 Love, not the lowest end of human life.
 For not to irksome toil, but to delight,
 He made us, and delight to reason join'd.
 These paths and bowers doubt not but our joint
 hands

Will keep from wilderneys with ease, as wide 245

Again, in his *Poems* :

“ Making a compliment of proud *compare*

“ With fun and moon.”

Ver. 244. These *paths*] So it is in all the early editions, till that of Tonson in 1711, which reads “ *The paths* ;” a mistake which has been followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley.

Ver. 245. *Will keep from wilderneys with ease,*] From *wilder-
 nefs* ; as in *Measure for Measure*, A. iii. S. i.

“ For such a warped slip of *wilderneys*

“ Ne'er issued from his blood.”

As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
 Assist us : But, if much converse perhaps
 Thee satiate, to short absence I could yield :
 For solitude sometimes is best society,
 And short retirement urges sweet return. 250
 But other doubt possesses me, lest harm
 Befall thee sever'd from me ; for thou know'st
 What hath been warn'd us, what malicious foe
 Envyng our happiness, and of his own
 Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame 255
 By sly assault ; and somewhere nigh at hand
 Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find
 His wish and best advantage, us asunder ;
 Hopeless to circumvent us join'd, where each
 To other speedy aid might lend at need : 260
 Whether his first design be to withdraw
 Our fealty from God, or to disturb

And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Trag.* A. v. S. ii.

—————" This keeps night here,

" And throws an unknown *wilderness* about me."

Ver. 249. ————— *is best society,*] As Scipio said,
Never less alone than when alone. " Nunquam minus solus
 quam cum solus." NEWTON.

There is a passage in the *Arcadia* something like this : " Your
 excellencies have power to make cities envy these woods, and
solitariness to be accounted the *sweetest company*," B. iii. p. 409.

BOWLE.

Ver. 250. *And short retirement urges sweet return.*] Re-
 tirement, though but short, makes the return sweet : The word
urges is to be referred to *retirement* only, and not to the epithet,
 which Adam seems to annex to it, only because he could not
 bear to think of a *long* one. PEARCE.

Conjugal love, than which perhaps no bliss
 Enjoy'd by us excites his envy more;
 Or this, or worse, leave not the faithful side 265
 That gave thee being, still shades thee, and
 protects.

The wife, where danger or dishonour lurks,
 Safest and seemliest by her husband stays,
 Who guards her, or with her the worst endures.

To whom the virgin majesty of Eve, 270
 As one who loves, and some unkindness meets,
 With sweet austere composure thus replied.

Ver. 270. ——— *the virgin majesty of Eve,*] The ancients used the word *virgin* with more latitude than we, as Virgil calls Pasiphae *virgin*, after she had had three children, *Eclóg.* vi. 47. And Ovid calls Medea “*adultera virgo*,” *Epíst. Ilfíp.* Jas. v. 133.

It is put here to denote beauty, bloom, sweetness, modesty, and all the amiable characters which are usually found in a virgin, and these with matron majesty: What a picture!

RICHARDSON.

It is probable, that Milton adopted this adjective sense of the word *virgin* from the Italian *virgineale*, which is an epithet very frequent in their poets when describing beauty, modesty, &c.

THYER.

It is not uncommon in our own poets. Thus, in *The Weakest goeth to the Wall*, 1600.

———“ I have noted in her, from her birth,
 “ A strange emanated kind of curtesie,
 “ An affable, inclining lenitie,
 “ With such a *virgin* meekness to regard, &c.”

And in Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, 1652,

———“ Her *virgin* sweetness makes me
 “ Her just admirer.”——

Offspring of Heaven and Earth, and all Earth's
Lord!

That such an enemy we have, who seeks
Our ruin, both by thee inform'd I learn, 275
And from the parting Angel over-heard,
As in a shady nook I stood behind,
Just then return'd at shut of evening flowers.
But, that thou shouldst my firmness therefore
doubt

Ver. 278. *Just then return'd at shut of evening flowers.*] What a natural notation of evening is this! And a proper time for her, who had *gone forth among her fruits and flowers*, B. viii. 44. to *return*. But we must not conceive that Eve is speaking of the evening last past, for this was a week ago. Satan was caught tempting Eve in a dream, and fled out of Paradise that night; and with this ends book the fourth. After he had fled out of Paradise, he was ranging round the world seven days; but we have not any account of Adam and Eve, excepting only on the first of those days, which begins with the beginning of book the fifth, where Eve relates her dream; that day at noon the Angel Raphael comes down from Heaven; the Angel and Adam discourse together till evening, and they part at the end of book the eighth. There are six days therefore past in silence, and we hear no more of Adam and Eve, till Satan had stolen again into Paradise. NEWTON.

This notation of time has been beautifully imitated by Mr. Warton; who begins his *Triumph of Isis* with the following couplet:

“ On *closing flowers* when genial gales diffuse
“ The fragrant tribute of refreshing dews”——

Compare also Browne's *Brit. Past.* B. v. S. v. 1616.

—————“ The day is woxen olde,
“ And 'gins to *shut* in with the *marigolde*.”

To God or thee, because we have a foe 280
 May tempt it, I expected not to hear.
 His violence thou fear'st not, being such
 As we, not capable of death or pain,
 Can either not receive, or can repel. 284
 His fraud is then thy fear; which plain infers
 Thy equal fear, that my firm faith and love
 Can by his fraud be shaken or seduc'd;
 Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy
 breast,
 Adam, mis-thought of her to thee so dear? 289
 To whom with healing words Adam replied.
 Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve!

Ver. 282. *His violence thou fear'st not,*] Adam had not said so expressly, but had implied as much in enlarging particularly upon his *fly assault*, v. 256, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 289. *Adam, mis-thought of her to thee so dear?*] Dr. Bentley says that these words express Adam's affection to her, and not her's to him, as the sense requires: He therefore read.—*to thee so true?* But Milton gave it *dear*, and made Eve here allude to what Adam had said of her in ver. 227.

—————“ to me beyond
 “ Compare above all living creatures *dear*.”

If I am so dear to you, as you said, how can you thus think amiss of me? This was a good argument in Eve's mouth. PEARCE.

Ver. 291. *Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve!*] As Eve had called Adam *Offspring of Heaven and Earth*, as made by God out of the dust of the Earth; so Adam calls Eve *Daughter of God and Man*, as made by God out of Man; and acknowledges her to be *immortal*, as she had said herself, v. 283, that they were *not capable of death or pain*; but only so long as she was *entire from sin and blame*: “ *integer vitæ, scelerisque purus,*” Hor. Od. I. xlii. 1. NEWTON.

For such thou art ; from sin and blame entire :
 Not diffident of thee do I dissuade
 Thy absence from my fight, but to avoid
 The attempt itself, intended by our foe. 295
 For he who tempts, though in vain, at least
 asperges
 The tempted with dishonour foul ; suppos'd
 Not incorruptible of faith, not proof
 Against temptation : Thou thyself with scorn
 And anger wouldst resent the offer'd wrong, 300
 Though ineffectual found : misdeem not then,
 If such affront I labour to avert
 From thee alone, which on us both at once
 The enemy, though bold, will hardly dare ;
 Or daring, first on me the assault shall light. 305
 Nor thou his malice and false guile contemn ;
 Subtle he needs must be, who could seduce
 Angels ; nor think superfluous others aid.
 I, from the influence of thy looks, receive
 Access in every virtue ; in thy fight 310
 More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were
 Of outward strength ; while shame, thou look-
 ing on,
 Shame to be overcome or over-reach'd,
 Would utmost vigour raise, and rais'd unite.

Ver. 312. ———— *while shame, thou looking on,*] Milton
 often uses the nominative case absolute, as the Greeks do ; which
 whether it should be called a case absolute, or an ellipsis, we
 leave to the Grammarians to determine. JORTIN.

Ver. 314. ———— *and rais'd unite.*] Would unite
 and add vigour to *wisdom, watchfulness, and every virtue men-*

Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel
 When I am present, and thy trial choose 316
 With me, best witness of thy virtue tried?

So spake domestick Adam in his care
 And matrimonial love; but Eve, who thought
 Less attributed to her faith sincere, 320
 Thus her reply with accent sweet renew'd.

If this be our condition, thus to dwell
 In narrow circuit straiten'd by a foe,
 Subtle or violent, we not endued
 Single with like defence, wherever met; 325
 How are we happy, still in fear of harm?
 But harm precedes not sin: only our foe,
 Tempting, affronts us with his foul esteem
 Of our integrity: his foul esteem

tioned before. If this be not the meaning, it must be understood thus, Would raise the utmost vigour, and unite and collect it all when raised. NEWTON.

Ver. 316. ——— thy trial] Fenton reads “the trial.”

Ver. 318. ——— domestick Adam] This epithet seems to allude to what Adam had said in ver. 232.

———“ nothing lovelier can be found

“ In woman than to study household good,

“ And good works in her husband to promote.”

Domestick in his care, may signify here one who has a careful regard to the good of his family; and all this speech of Adam's was intended for the security of his wife. PEARCE.

Ver. 320. *Less attributed*] That is, too little; an elegant Latinism. RICHARDSON.

Sticks no dishonour on our front, but turns 330
 Foul on himself; then wherefore shunn'd or
 fear'd

By us? who rather double honour gain
 From his surmise prov'd false; find peace within,
 Favour from Heaven, our witness, from the event.
 And what is faith, love, virtue, unassay'd 335
 Alone, without exterior help sustain'd?
 Let us not then suspect our happy state
 Left so imperfect by the Maker wife,

Ver. 330. *Sticks no dishonour on our front,*] Dr. Newton notices the jingle of *front* with *affronts* in v. 328; and says, that the poet alludes to the etymology of the word *affront*, *ad-frontare*, i. e. *frontem fronti committere*, according to Skinner. So, in Italian, *affrontare*, to meet face to face. This sense of *affront* often occurs in Shakspere. Minshew's explanation of the word, in his *Guide to Tongues* 1627, is almost literally, *To stick dishonour on the front*, viz. "Aliquem contumeliâ afficere in frontem."

In *Samson Agonistes* v. 532, Milton uses the substantive *affront*, like the Italian *affronto*, for *encounter*. See also the verb *affront*, in this sense, B. i. 391.

Ver. 334. ———— *our witness, from the event.*] The Spirit bearing witness with our spirit, *Rom.* viii. 16.

NEWTON.

Ver. 335. *And what is faith, love, virtue, unassay'd
 Alone, without exterior help sustain'd?*] What merit is there in any virtue, till it has stood the test alone, and without other assistance?

"Paulum sepultæ distat inertiae

"Celata virtus." *Hor. Od.* IV. ix. 29.

RICHARDSON.

As not secure to single or combin'd.
 Frail is our happiness, if this be so, 340
 And Eden were no Eden, thus expos'd.
 To whom thus Adam fervently replied.
 O Woman, best are all things as the will

Ver. 339. *As not secure to single or combin'd.*] As not to be secure to us single or together. NEWTON.

Ver. 342. *To whom thus Adam fervently replied.*]

O Woman,] What Eve had just now said required some reprimand from Adam, and it was necessary to describe him as in some degree displeased; but what extreme delicacy has our author shown in choosing the word *fervently* to express it by? a term which though it implies some emotion, yet carries nothing in its idea inconsistent with that subserviency of the passions, which subsisted before the Fall. In the two foregoing speeches he had made Adam address himself to her in the affectionate terms of *Sole Eve*, *associate sole*, and *Daughter of God and Man*, *immortal Eve*; but here with great judgement he changes those endearing words for these more authoritative *O Woman*. I should think that Milton in this expression alluded to what our Saviour said to the Virgin Mary, *Woman, what have I to do with thee*, was not I satisfied, that he could not with his learning take these words in the vulgar mistaken sense, which our translation naturally leads ignorant readers into; and must very well know that *ἡὺν* amongst the Greeks is a term of great respect. Indeed throughout this whole conversation, which the poet has in every respect worked up to a faultless perfection, there is the most exact observance of justness and propriety of character. With what strength is the superiour excellency of man's understanding here pointed out, and how nicely does our author here sketch out the defects peculiar in general to the female mind! and after all, what great art has he shown in making Adam, contrary to his better reason, grant his spouse's request, beautifully verifying what he had made our general ancestor a little before observe to the Angel! B. viii. 546, &c.

THYER.

Of God ordain'd them: His creating hand
 Nothing imperfect or deficient left 345
 Of all that he created, much less Man,
 Or aught that might his happy state secure,
 Secure from outward force; within himself
 The danger lies, yet lies within his power:
 Against his will he can receive no harm. 350
 But God left free the will; for what obeys
 Reason, is free; and Reason he made right,
 But bid her well be ware, and still erect;
 Left, by some fair-appearing good surpris'd,
 She dictate false; and mis-inform the will 355
 To do what God expressly hath forbid.
 Not then mistrust, but tender love, enjoins,
 That I should mind thee oft; and mind thou me.
 Firm we subsist, yet possible to swerve;
 Since Reason not possibly may meet 360
 Some specious object by the foe suborn'd,
 And fall into deception unaware,
 Not keeping strictest watch, as she was warn'd.
 Seek not temptation then, which to avoid
 Were better, and most likely if from me 365
 Thou sever not: Trial will come unsought.
 Wouldst thou approve thy constancy, approve
 First thy obedience; the other who can know,

Ver. 353. *But bid her well be ware;*] *Ware* is an adjective,
 as in II Tim. iv. 15. "Of whom be thou *ware* also;" and in
Comus, v. 557. "Silence was took ere she was *ware*." And
 therefore *be ware* should not have been printed as one word, but
 as two. NEWTON,

Not seeing thee attempted, who attest?
 But, if thou think, trial unfought may find 370
 Us both securer than thus warn'd thou seem'st,
 Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;
 Go in thy native innocence, rely
 On what thou hast of virtue; summon all!
 For God towards thee hath done his part, do
 thine. 375

So spake the patriarch of mankind; but Eve
 Persisted; yet submits, though last, replied.

With thy permission then, and thus forewarn'd
 Chiefly by what thy own last reasoning words
 Touch'd only; that our trial, when least sought,
 May find us both perhaps far less prepar'd, 381
 The willinger I go, nor much expect
 A foe so proud will first the weaker seek;
 So bent, the more shall shame him his repulse.

Ver. 372. *Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;*] It is related of Milton's first wife, that she had not cohabited with him above a month, before she was very desirous of returning to her friends in the country, there to spend the remainder of the summer. We may suppose, that, upon this occasion, their conversation was somewhat of the same nature as Adam and Eve's; and it was upon some such considerations as this, that, after much sollicitation, he permitted her to go.

It is the more probable, that he alluded to his own case in this account of Adam and Eve's parting, as in the account of their reconciliation it will appear that he copied exactly what happened to himself. NEWTON.

See Mr. Warton's opinion of this line, in his excellent note on the first verse of the Poet's xith *Sonnet*.

Likest she seem'd, Pomona when she fled
Vertumnus, or to Ceres in her prime, 395

Milton had mentioned her being *arm'd with garden tools*, he beautifully compares her to *Pales*, *Pomona*, and *Ceres*, all three goddesses like to each other in these circumstances, that they were handsome, that they presided over gardening and cultivation of ground, and that they are usually described by the ancient poets, as carrying tools of gardening or husbandry in their hands: Thus Ovid says of Pomona, *Met.* xiv. 628.

“Nec jaculo gravis est, sed aduncâ dextera falce.”

When she fled Vertumnus: Milton's meaning is, that she was like *Pomona*, not precisely at the hour when she fled *Vertumnus*, but at that time of her life when *Vertumnus* made his addresses to her, that is, in all her perfection of beauty, as described by Ovid in the place above-cited.

Or to Ceres in her prime: What? says Dr. Bentley, have goddesses the decays of old age, and do they grow *past their prime*? And yet it is very frequent with the old poets to describe their gods as passing from youth to old age. Juvenal says, “Sed Jove *nondum barbatus*,” *Sat.* vi. 15. Virgil thus describes Charon, *Æn.* vi. 304.

“Jam *senior*; sed cruda deo viridisque *senectus*.”

And again we have “*Saturnusque senex*,” *Æn.* vii. 180.

PEARCE.

Ver. 394. Likest she seem'd,] So it is in Milton's first edition: In the second, by mistake, it is printed *Likeliest*, which has been followed in all the editions since, at least in all that I have seen. NEWTON.

Ver. 395. ——— or to Ceres in her prime,

Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove.] Dr. Bentley says, What monster of a phrase is that *virgin of Proserpina*? And I confess that it is one of the most forced expressions in this whole poem: probably our poet was led into it, by imitating the like phrase of some Italian poet. But the sense is plain enough, viz. that she had not yet borne *Proserpina*, who derived

Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove.
 Her long with ardent look his eye purfued
 Delighted, but defiring more her ftay.
 Oft he to her his charge of quick return
 Repeated ; ſhe to him as oft engag'd 400

her birth *from Jove* : for the like uſe of the word *from*, when other words are to be ſupplied in the ſenſe, ſee B. ii. 542, and B. viii. 213. I have met with ſome gentlemen, who thought that the laſt of theſe verſes ought to be read thus,

—————“ or to Ceres in her prime
 “ Yet virgin, *or* Proſerpina from Jove.”

And this reading at firſt ſight is very apt to pleaſe and perſuade one of its genuinenefs, becauſe it frees the text from that hard expreſſion, *virgin of Proſerpina* : But when we conſider the matter farther, it will be found that Milton could never have intended to compare Eve with Proſerpina, becauſe ſhe had nothing to do with huſbandry or gardening, on account of which only this compariſon is introduced. PEARCE.

• This ſeems to be a Greciſm, and translated from Theocritus (*Idyl.* ii. 136,) who ſays παρθένον ἐκ θαλάσσης for *Virginem in utero*. It is the ſame turn of expreſſion in both. So that Dr. Bentley was ſtrangely miſtaken in calling it a *monſter of an expreſſion, and not human language* ; it having an elegance ſuperiour in my opinion to the Engliſh phraſe—“ a virgin, not having yet conceived Proſerpina who was begot by Jove.”

WARBURTON.

This conſtruction, as far as I know, is neither Greek nor Latin, but entirely Milton's own, and which, I think, does more violence to the language than any other that he has uſed. The expreſſion, *virgin of Proſerpina*, is certainly not common Engliſh, and many will deny it to be Engliſh at all ; but let any man try to expreſs the ſame thought otherwiſe, and he will be convinced how much Milton has raiſed and ennobled his ſtyle by an idiom ſo uncommon, but which is, notwithſtanding, ſufficiently intelligible. LORD MONBODDO.

To be return'd by noon amid the bower,
 And all things in best order to invite
 Noontide repast, or afternoon's repose.
 O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapless Eve,
 Of thy presum'd return! event perverse! 405
 Thou never from that hour in Paradise
 Found'st either sweet repast, or sound repose;
 Such ambush, hid among sweet flowers and
 shades,

Ver. 401. *To be return'd by noon amid the bower,*
And all things in best order to invite] Here seems
 to be a want of a verb before *all things* &c. Dr. Bentley there-
 fore reads,

“ To be return'd by noon, *and at* the bower

“ *Have* all things in best order to invite.”

But, if it be necessary to insert the word *have*, I would read
 thus, with less alteration,

“ And all things in best order *have* to invite.” PEARCE.

There seems to be no necessity for any alteration. If *the bower* had been mentioned alone, he would hardly have said *amid the bower*, but rather *at the bower* or *in the bower*; but *amid the bower and all things* is right. NEWTON.

Mr. Stillingfleet thinks, that *to be*, from the preceding verse, is understood after *all things*.

Ver. 404. *O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapless Eve,*
Of thy presum'd return!] That is, much failing
 of thy presumed return. These beautiful apostrophes, and anti-
 cipations, are frequent in the poets, who affect to speak in the
 character of prophets, and like men inspired with the knowledge
 of futurity. See Virgil, *Æn.* x. 501, &c. and Homer, *Il.*
 xvii. 497. NEWTON.

Ver. 408. *Such ambush, hid*] In Tonson's edition of 1711
 it is printed, probably by an error of the press, “ Such ambush

Waited with hellish rancour imminent
 To intercept thy way, or fend thee back 410
 Despoil'd of innocence, of faith, of bliss!
 For now, and since first break of dawn, the
 Fiend,

Mere serpent in appearance, forth was come;
 And on his quest, where likeliest he might find
 The only two of mankind, but in them 415
 The whole included race, his purpos'd prey.
 In bower and field he fought, where any tuft
 Of grove or garden-plot more pleasant lay,
 Their tendance, or plantation for delight;
 By fountain or by shady rivulet 420
 He fought them both, but wish'd his hap might
 find

Eve separate; he wish'd, but not with hope
 Of what so seldom chanc'd; when to his
 wish,

Beyond his hope, Eve separate he spies,
 Veil'd in a cloud of fragrance, where she stood,
 Half spied, so thick the roses blushing round 426

laid;” which reading, however, has been followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Dr. Bentley. Dr. Newton restored the genuine reading, “ Such ambush *hid*.”

Ver. 425. *Veil'd in a cloud of fragrance,*] Hence Pope, with the alteration of a single word, *Iliad* xv. 174.

“ Veil'd in a mist of fragrance him they found.”

But compare Homer himself:

———— ἀμφὶ δὲ μιν ὄχθην νέφος ἔστεφανωτο,

About her glow'd, oft stooping to support
 Each flower of slender stalk, whose head, though
 gay
 Carnation, purple, azure, or speck'd with gold,
 Hung drooping unsustain'd; them she upstays 435
 Gently with myrtle band, mindless the while
 Herself, though fairest unsupported flower,
 From her best prop so far, and storm so nigh.
 Nearer he drew, and many a walk travers'd
 Of stateliest covert, cedar, pine, or palm; 435
 Then voluble and bold, now hid, now seen,
 Among thick-woven arborets, and flowers
 Imborder'd on each bank, the hand of Eve:

Ver. 427. ———— *oft stooping to support*

Each flower of tender stalk, ————

————— *mindless the while*

Herself, though fairest unsupported flower,] The
 same manner of speaking, as in B. iv. 269.

————— “ where Proserpine gathering flowers,

“ Herself a fairer flower by gloomy Dis

“ Was gather'd.”

A thought that must have pleased the author, since he has it a second time. NEWTON.

Ver. 438. Imborder'd *on each bank,*] Dr. Bentley believes, that Milton gave it *imbroider'd*, proper to *thick-woven*. But *imborder'd* is the right word, according to bishop Kennet, who, in his Glossary to his *Parochial Antiquities* in the word *bordarii*, says, Some derive it from the old Gallick *bords*, the limits or extremes of any extent; as the *borders* of a county, and the *borderers* or inhabitants in those parts: Whence the *bordure* of a garment, and to *imborder* which we corrupt to *imbroider*. See also Furetiere's French Dictionary on the words *brodeur* and *embordurer*. PEARCE.

Spot more delicious than those gardens feign'd
Or of reviv'd Adonis, or renown'd 440

Imborder'd is the true reading; because, as Milton is comparing this particular spot to the garden of Alcinous, he uses *imborder'd*, as alluding to, or rather as illustrating, a word of similar meaning, in Homer's charming description of that celebrated garden, *Odyss.* vii. 127.

Εἰθα δὲ κοσμηταὶ ΠΡΑΣΙΑΙ παρὰ Νίαιτον ὄρχον
Παντοῖαι πεφύασιν, ἐκπλήττει γανώσσαι.

To *imborder*, is one of the Miltonick words of which Dr. Johnson takes no notice in his Dictionary.

Ibid. ————— *the hand of Eve:*] The *bandiwork*; as we say of a picture, that it is the *hand* of such a master. And thus Virgil, *Æn.* i. 455.

“Artificiūmque manus inter se operūmque laborem

“Miratur.”— NEWTON.

Ver. 439. ————— *those gardens feign'd*

Or of reviv'd Adonis, &c.] Dr. Bentley pronounces this passage spurious; “for that the κήποι Ἀδωνίδος, the *gardens of Adonis*, so frequently mentioned by Greek writers, were nothing but portable earthen pots, with some lettuce or fennel growing in them. On his yearly festival every woman carried one of them for Adonis's worship, because Venus had once laid him in a lettuce bed.” To this Dr. Pearce replies, “That this account of the *gardens of Adonis* is right, and yet Milton may be defended for what he says of them: for why (says he) did the Grecians on Adonis's festival carry these small gardens about in honour of him? It was, because they had a *tradition*, that, when he was alive, he delighted in gardens, and had a magnificent one: for proof of this we have Pliny's words, xix. 4. *Antiquitas nihil prius mirata est quàm Hesperidum hortos, ac regum ADONIDIS et Alcinoi.*”

One would now think the question well decided: but Mr. Theobald comes, and will needs be Dr. Bentley's second. “A learned and reverend gentleman (says he), having attempted to impeach Dr. Bentley of error, for maintaining that there *never were existent* any magnificent or spacious gardens of Adonis, an

Alcinous, host of old Laertes' son;
Or that, not mystick, where the sapient king

opinion in which it has been my fortune to second the doctor, I thought myself concerned, in some part, to weigh those authorities alleged by the objector, &c." The reader sees that Mr. Theobald mistakes the very question in dispute between these two truly learned men, which was not whether *Adonis's gardens were ever existent*, but whether there was *a tradition of any celebrated garden cultivated by Adonis*. For this would sufficiently justify Milton's mention of them, together with the gardens of Alcinous, confessed by the poet himself to be fabulous. *There was no such garden*, says Dr. Bentley, *ever existent, or even feigned*. He adds the latter part, as knowing that that would justify the poet; and it is on that assertion only that his adversary Dr. Pearce joins issue with him. "Why (says he) did they carry the small earthen gardens? It was, because they had a *tradition*, that when alive he delighted in gardens." Mr. Theobald, therefore, mistaking the question, it is no wonder that all he says, is nothing to the purpose; it being to show that Dr. Pearce's quotations from Pliny and others, do not prove the *real existence* of the gardens. After these comes Sir Thomas Hanmer; and he pronounces in favour of Dr. Bentley against Dr. Pearce, in these words, *The gardens of Adonis were never represented under any local description*. But whether this was said at hazard, or to contradict Dr. Pearce, or to rectify Mr. Theobald's mistake of the question, it is so obscurely expressed, that one can hardly determine. WARBURTON.

It may be added, that Dr. Pearce's references, besides the above to Pliny, are to Marino's *L'Adone*, canto the sixth; to Spenser's *Faery Queen*, b. iii. c. vi; and to Huetius's *Demonstr. Evangel.* prop. iv. cap. iii. Dr. Newton adds, that Shakspeare mentions the *gardens of Adonis*, in the first part of *K. Hen.* VI. A. i. S. vi; on which passage the preceding note of Warburton was written. Compare Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 976. The *revival* of Adonis, in Spenser, is beautifully described. See also *Comus*, v. 1000.

Ver. 442. *Or that, not mystick,*] The garden of Solomon; of

Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse.
 Much he the place admir'd, the person more.
 As one who long in populous city pent, 445
 Where houses thick and sewers annoy the air,
 Forth issuing on a summer's morn, to breathe
 Among the pleasant villages and farms
 Adjoin'd, from each thing met conceives delight ;
 The smell of grain, or tedded grafs, or kine, 450
 Or dairy, each rural sight, each rural found ;
 If chance, with nymph-like step, fair virgin pass,
 What pleasing seem'd, for her now pleases more ;
 She most, and in her look sums all delight :
 Such pleasure took the Serpent to behold 455
 This flowery plat, the sweet recess of Eve
 Thus early, thus alone : Her heavenly form

which, Cotovicus, a learned civilian of Utrecht, who visited Palestine in 1598, gives a very engaging description. See his travels, entitled *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, &c. fol. Antverpiæ, 1619, p. 243.

Ver. 450. ————— tedded *grafs*,] Grass just mowed, and spread for drying. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 453. *What pleasing seem'd, for her now pleases more,*] Did not the beautiful assemblage of proper circumstances in this charmingly natural and familiar simile lead one to think, that Milton took the hint of it from some real scene of this sort, which had some time or other smitten his fancy, I should be apt to think that he alluded to this same thought in Spenser, who, describing his hero Guyon with a fair lady upon a little island adorned with all the beauties of nature, adds, *Faer. Qu. ii. vi. 24.*

“ And all though pleasant, yet she made much more.”

THYER.

Ver. 457. ————— *Her heavenly form &c.*] This is a scene of much the same nature with that betwixt the Saracen

Angelick, but more soft, and feminine,
Her graceful innocence, her every air

king Aladin and the Italian virgin Sophronia in the 2d Canto of Tasso's *Jerusalem*: and though perhaps it would be going too far to say that Milton has borrowed from thence, yet I think it must give the reader some pleasure to see, how two great geniuses naturally fall into the same thoughts upon similar subjects. Milton, speaking of Eve, says,

————— “ her every air
“ Of gesture or least action over-aw'd
“ His malice, &c.”

Tasso, speaking of Sophronia's addressing herself to the fierce Aladin, says,

“ A l'honesta baldanza, a l'improvviso
“ Folgorar di bellezze altere, e fante,
“ Quasi confuso il re, quasi conquiso
“ Frenò lo sdegno, e placò il fier sembiante.”

How like again is what Milton says of Satan,

“ That space the Evil-one abstracted stood
“ From his own evil, and for the time remain'd
“ Stupidly good,” ———

to what Tasso says of the state of Aladin's mind,

“ Fù stupor, fù vaghezza, e fù diletto,
“ S'amor non fù, che mosse il cor villano!”

They both also agree in making each of them immediately to relapse into their first character. Milton;

————— “ then soon
“ Fierce hate he recollects,” ———

Tasso;

“ Qui comincia il tiranno a risdegnarsi:”

It must be owned however, that, notwithstanding this similitude of circumstances, the English poet vastly excels the Italian both in strength of sentiments, and beauty of expression. It may be further observed, that there never was a finer or juster compli-

Of gesture, or least action, overaw'd 460
 His malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd
 His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought :
 That space the Evil-one abstracted stood
 From his own evil, and for the time remain'd
 Stupidly good ; of enmity disarm'd, 465
 Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge :
 But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
 Though in mid Heaven, soon ended his delight,
 And tortures him now more, the more he sees
 Of pleasure, not for him ordain'd : then soon 470
 Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
 Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites.

ment paid to beauty than is here by Milton, as it is not made up of rant and rhapsody as most of this kind are, but only saying what one may easily imagine might have really happened upon the sight of so delightful a scene. THYER.

Ver. 462. *His fierceness of the fierce intent*] Though Dr. Bentley thinks it jejune, yet such a repetition is not uncommon in the best poets. Virgil, *Æn.* i. 669.

——— “ *et nostro doluisti sæpe dolore.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 467. *But the hot Hell &c.*] See note, B. iv. 20.

Ver. 468. *Though in mid Heaven,*] That is, would do though he were in Heaven ; or it may be understood as if he were sometimes in Heaven, and justified by *Job*, i. 6, ii. 1. “ There was a day, when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord ; and Satan came also among them to present himself before the Lord.” And Satan speaks to the same purpose in *Par. Reg.* B. i. 366.

——— “ nor from the Heaven of Heavens
 “ Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.” NEWTON.

Thoughts, whither have ye led me ! with what
sweet

Compulsion thus transported, to forget
What hither brought us ! hate, not love ; nor hope
Of Paradise for Hell, hope here to taste 476
Of pleasure ; but all pleasure to destroy,
Save what is in destroying ; other joy
To me is lost. Then, let me not let pass
Occasion which now smiles ; behold alone 480
The woman, opportune to all attempts,
Her husband, for I view far round, not nigh,
Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb
Heroick built, though of terrestrial mould ; 485
Foe not formidable ! exempt from wound,
I not ; so much hath Hell debas'd, and pain
Enfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven.
She fair, divinely fair, fit love for Gods !
Not terrible, though terrour be in love 490
And beauty, not approach'd by stronger hate,

Ver. 474. ————— *with what sweet*

Compulsion thus transported,] So, in *Arcades*, v. 68.

“ Such *sweet compulsion* doth in musick lie.”

Ver. 478. ————— *other joy*

To me is lost.] How exactly does Milton make
Satan keep up the character he had assumed in the fourth book,
where he says

“ Evil be thou my good &c. !” THYER.

Ver. 490. *Not terrible, though terrour be in love*

And beauty, not approach'd by stronger hate,] That
is, A beautiful woman is approached with terrour, unless he,

Hate stronger, under show of love well feign'd;
The way which to her ruin now I tend.

So spake the enemy of mankind, enclos'd
In serpent, inmate bad! and toward Eve 495
Address'd his way: not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as since; but on his rear,
Circular base of rising folds, that tower'd
Fold above fold, a surging maze! his head

who approaches her, has a stronger hatred of her than her beauty
can beget love in him. PEARCE.

Something like this in *Par. Reg. B. ii. 159.*

————— “ virgin majesty with mild
“ And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach.”

THYER.

Ver. 496. ———— *not with indented wave,*] *Indented* is
of the same derivation as *indenture*, notched and going in and
out like the teeth of a saw: And Shakspeare likewise applies it
to the motions of a snake, in *As you like it*, A. iv. S. iii.

“ And with *indented* glides did slip away.” NEWTON.

Ver. 499. *Fold above fold, &c.*] We have the description of
such a sort of serpent in Ovid, *Met. iii. 32.*

————— “ cristis præsignis et auro;
“ Igne micant oculi ————
“ Ille volubilibus squamosos nexibus orbes
“ Torquet, et immentos saltu sinuatur in arcus:
“ Ac mediâ plus parte leves erectus in auras,
“ Despicit omne nemus, &c.”

But Milton has not only imitated Ovid, but has ransacked all
the good poets, who have ever made a remarkable description of
a serpent; and the reader may observe some touches very like
Grotius's description of the same serpent, in his tragedy of
Adamus Exul:

Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes ; 500
 With burnish'd neck of verdant gold, creft
 Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
 Floated redundant : pleasing was his shape
 And lovely ; never since of serpent-kind

————— “ oculi ardent duo :

“ Adrecta cervix furgit, et maculis nitet

“ Pectus superbis ; cæculis picti notis

“ Sinuantur orbes : tortiles spiræ micant

“ Auri colore, &c.” NEWTON.

Mr. Bowle cites Tasso's description of a serpent, *Gier. Lib.*
 c. xv. st. 48.

“ Innalza d' oro squallido squamoso

“ Le creste, e'l capo ; e gonfia il collo d'ira :

“ Arde ne gli occhi.”

The “ *igne micant*,” and “ *ardent oculi*,” are both expressed, I think, by the word *carbuncle* : a jewel, resembling in its colour, a burning coal. Hence perhaps it is called “ the *fiery carbuncle*,” in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, p. 66. In the same work also Astronomy personified is described with “ two *carbuncles* for eyes,” p. 291. And “ the hellish Pyrrhus,” in *Hamlet*'s speech to the Players, has “ eyes like *carbuncles*.” I find a serpent thus described in Murtola's *Creatione del Mondo*, 1608. c. xii. st. 11.

“ Come *carboni* luminosi ardenti

“ Gli *occhi* accesi vibrò l' Anfeibena, &c.”

Ver. 504. ———— *never since of serpent-kind &c.*] Satan is not here compared and preferred to the finest and most memorable serpents of antiquity, the Python and the rest ; but only to the most memorable of those serpents into which others were transformed ; and with the greater propriety, as he was himself now transformed into a serpent. And in this view it is said that none were *lovelier*, not those that in *Illyria* chang'd *Hermione* and *Cadmus*.

This *Cadmus* together with his wife leaving Thebes in Bœotia, which he had founded and for divers misfortunes quitted, and

Lovelier, not those that in Illyria chang'd 505
Hermione and Cadmus, or the God

coming into *Illyria*, they were both turned into serpents for having slain one sacred to Mars, as we read in Ovid. But the expression, *those that chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*, has occasioned some difficulty. Did those serpents, says Dr. Bentley, *change Hermione and Cadmus*? or were not these, who were man and woman once, *chang'd* into serpents? And Dr. Pearce replies, We may excuse this as a poetical liberty of expression; 'tis much the same as the criticks have observed in Ovid's *Metam.* I. 1. where "*formas mutatas in nova corpora*" stand for "*corpora mutata in novas formas.*" In both places the *changing* is attributed, not to the persons changed, but to the forms or shapes into which they were changed. *Which chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*, that is into which Hermione and Cadmus were changed. So Horace says, Sat. ii. viii. 49.

“ aceto

“ Quod Methymnæam vitio mutaverat uvam,”

for in *quod vitio mutata est uva Methymnæa*. If this may be not allowed to pass, yet I see no reason (says Dr. Pearce) why the construction may not be this, *not those that in Illyria* (were) *chang'd*, viz. *Hermione and Cadmus* &c. Or perhaps this; *not those that Hermione and Cadmus chang'd*, where *chang'd* stands for *chang'd to*; as in B. x. 540, we have the same way of speaking,

“ for what they saw,

“ They felt themselves now *changing*.”

But, after all these very ingenious conjectures, I conceive the meaning to be as it is expressed, and the expression to be the most proper and apposite that could be. The serpents *chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*. The form of serpents was superinduced, but they still retained the same sense and memory; and this Ovid says expressly, *Met.* iv. 595 &c. They were therefore still Hermione and Cadmus, though changed; as the Devil was still the Devil, though enclosed in a serpent. And thus it may be said with the greatest propriety, that none of serpent-kind were lovelier, *not those that in Illyria chang'd Hermione and Cadmus, or the God*

In Epidaurus ; nor to which transform'd
 Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline was seen ;
 He with Olympias ; this with her who bore
 Scipio, the highth of Rome. With tract oblique
 At first, as one who sought access, but fear'd 511
 To interrupt, side-long he works his way.
 As when a ship, by skilful steersman wrought

in Epidaurus, that is *Æsculapius* the God of physick, who was worshipped at *Epidaurus*, and, being sent for to Rome in the time of a plague, assumed the form of a serpent and accompanied the ambassadours, as the story was related in the eleventh book of *Livy*, and may still be read in the fifteenth book of *Ovid's Metamorphosis* : but though he was thus changed in appearance, he was still *Æsculapius*, "*In serpente Deus*," as *Ovid* calls him, *the deity in a serpent*, and under that form continued to be worshipped at Rome.

Nor were those serpents lovelier, to which transform'd Ammonian Jove or Capitoline was seen, Jupiter Ammon and Jupiter Capitolinus, the one the Lybian Jupiter, the other the Roman, called *Capitoline* from the Capitol, his temple at Rome : *He with Olympias*, the first the pretended father of Alexander the Great, conversing with his mother Olympias in the form of a serpent : *this with her who bore Scipio the highth of Rome*, the latter fabled in like manner to have been the father of Scipio Africanus, who raised his country and himself to the highest pitch of glory. Dr. Bentley objects to this expression *the highth of Rome*. But as Dr. Pearce observes in answer, this expression is much of the same nature with *Ovid's* "*Summa ducum Atrides*;" *Amor.* l. 1. el. 9. v. 37. and with *Cicero's* expression "*Apex senectutis est auctoritas*," *de Senect.* The Italians, whose expressions Milton often imitates, use *altezza* in the same sense, if I remember aright.

NEWTON.

Ver. 513. *As when a ship, &c.*] There are some Latin poems of Andrew Ramsay, a Scotchman in the time of Charles the first, under this title *Pœmata sacra Andreæ Ramsæi Pastoris Edinburgeni*.

Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
Veers oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her sail: 515

Edinburgi 1633. The book is now grown very scarce, but there are few poems in it. The principal is one in four books, the first of the creation, the second of the happy state of man, the third of the fall of man, the fourth of the redemption of man by Jesus Christ: and this poem was recommended to me as a performance to which Milton had been much obliged and indebted: but upon perusing it I do not well see how two authors could write so much upon the same subjects, and write more differently. There are few or no traces to be discovered of any similitude or resemblance between them, but in the simile before us, and the following one of the Scotch poet, and these are so different, and applied so differently, that they may both be originals, or at least not the copy the one of the other. Milton's is applied to the oblique motion of the serpent, this of Ramfay to the Devil tempting our Saviour, and, when one temptation would not avail, trying another:

—— “ Ut vento portum qui fortè reflante
“ Non potis est capere, is malos et lintea vela
“ Carbaseósque sinus obliquat, tendere rectà
“ Qua nequit, incurvo radit vada cærule cursu;
“ Sic gnarus versare dolos, et imagine falsa
“ Ludere Tartareus coluber, contingere metam
“ Se non posse videns primo molimine, cursum
“ Mutat, et ad palmam converso tramite tendit.”

So that upon the whole it is to be questioned whether Milton had ever seen these poems of Ramfay, or knew any thing of them; and he might still say with truth that he pursued

“ Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.”

And in the general it may be said, that resemblance is not plagiarism. Different authors may possibly hit upon the same thought without borrowing from one another. An author, of great reading especially, may be tinged and coloured as it were by his reading: his writings may have something of the taste of the books which he has read without his knowing it, as the stream

So varied he, and of his tortuous train
Curl'd many a wanton wreath in fight of Eve,
To lure her eye; she, busied, heard the sound

partakes of the qualities of the earth through which it passes; and he may sometimes make use of the thoughts of others, and still believe them his own. This may be the case with regard to those authors whom he is known to have read; and much less can he be certainly charged with stealing from authors, when it is very uncertain whether he has read them or not.

NEWTON.

Mr. R. Richardson, of Clare-Hall, Cambridge, the earliest vindicator of Milton from the invidious charges of Lauder, observes, that he was once inclined to think that, as the motion and working of a ship are compared to the motions of a serpent in the fifth *Æneid*, Milton might apply the simile *vice versa*; but that he finds Milton to be his own best commentator; because, within three lines, are these remarkable words, *or the God in Epidaurus*; where it is visible, he says, to any one, that Milton has traced Ovid throughout the whole transformation of *Æsculapius* in the 15th *Metamorphosis*, and from the various circumstances of the ship which carries into port the God in the serpent (parallel to which is Satan in the serpent) has composed this fine simile. *Zulomastix*, &c. 1747, pp. 21, 22.

I beg leave to cite a beautiful simile, comparing the ship to the serpent, (which has escaped Mr. Richardson) from Apollonius Rhodius; in whose poetry Milton manifestly delighted:

*Ὡς δὲ δρῶντων σκολῖνι εἰλιγμένους ἔρχεται οἶμον,
Εὔτε μιν ὀξύτατον θάλλπει σέλας ἡλίοιο*
Σπιυθαζύγεσσι πυρὸς ἑναλίγκια μαιμώνοντι
Λάμπεται, ὅφρα μυχύνῃ διὰ ῥωχμοῖο δύνται*
*Ὡς Ἀργῷ λίμνης σόμα ναύπορον ἐξερέσασα,
Ἀμφιπόλει θηναῖον ἐπὶ χρόνον. *Argon.* iv. 1541.

It may be observed, that he particularly mentions the *Argo*, B. ii. 1017. And therefore it is more probable that this remarkable simile, applied to so remarkable a ship, might have here occurred to his memory.



Of rustling leaves, but minded not, as us'd
 To such disport before her through the field, 520
 From every beast; more dutious at her call,
 Than at Circean call the herd disguis'd.
 He, bolder now, uncall'd before her stood,
 But as in gaze admiring: oft he bow'd
 His turret crest, and sleek enamell'd neck, 525
 Fawning; and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
 His gentle dumb expression turn'd at length
 The eye of Eve, to mark his play; he, glad
 Of her attention gain'd, with serpent-tongue

Ver. 522. *Than at Circean call the herd disguis'd.*] Alluding to the men turned into beasts by Circe; Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 45.

————— “*pérque ferarum*
 “*Agmen adulantium mediâ procedit ab aulâ.*”

HUME,

Ver. 529. ————— *with serpent-tongue*

Organick, or impulse of vocal air,

His fraudulent temptation thus began.] The fol-

lowing speech of Satan may be pronounced a matter-piece of flattery. Scevole de St. Marthe, a learned Frenchman of the sixteenth century, in his *Pædotrophia, seu De puerorum educatione*, gives an account of the temptation, cited in the British Critick, for January, 1798; in which the serpent employs no adulation, but specious argument only, as subservient to his purpose: he is described, as

————— “*non ille ferus, qui stridula vibret*
 “*Sibila, tabificoque minax livore tumescat;*
 “*Sed, blando sensim irrepens per graminâ lapsu,*
 “*Arboris insaufæ ramis fatalibus hæsit*
 “*Arduus, implicito per mille volumina trunco.*
 “*Tum molles aditus, et tempora fraudibus apta,*
 “*Legit; et humanis sic demum vocibus infit.*” —

Organick, or impulse of vocal air, 530
His fraudulent temptation thus began.

Wonder not, sovran Mistrefs, if perhaps
Thou canst, who art sole wonder! much less arm
Thy looks, the Heaven of mildness, with disdain,
Displeas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze 535
Insatiate; I thus single; nor have fear'd
Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd.
Fairest resemblance of thy Maker fair,
Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
By gift, and thy celestial beauty adore 540
With ravishment beheld! there best beheld,
Where universally admir'd; but here
In this enclosure wild, these beasts among,
Beholders rude, and shallow to discern

The serpent thus encircles the fatal tree, and addresses the woman from it, in the *L'Adamo* of the Cavalier Pona, lib. i. Venet. 1664. And, in Loredano's *Italian Life of Adam* (of which there is an English translation in 1659), the tempter is profuse of adulation, in order to engage the attention of Eve. The same may be said of Masenius's tempter, in his *Sarcotis*, lib. ii. But probably the extravagant admiration of Eve's person, expressed by the serpent in the *Adamo* of Andreini, might suggest to Milton the thought of this *glozing poem*. See note on v. 606. However, Milton's *temptation* is so artfully conducted, so beautifully described, that it removes all comparison "as far as from the centre thrice to the utmost pole."

Ver. 530. *Organick, or impulse of vocal air,*] That the Devil moved the serpent's tongue, and used it as an instrument to form that tempting speech he made to Eve, is the opinion of some; that he formed a voice by impression of the sounding air, distant from the serpent, is that of others: of which Milton has left the curious to their choice. HUME.

Half what in thee is fair, one man except, 545
 Who sees thee? (and what is one?) who should
 be seen

A Goddes among Gods, ador'd and serv'd
 By Angels numberless, thy daily train.

So glaz'd the Tempter, and his proem tun'd:
 Into the heart of Eve his words made way, 550
 Though at the voice much marvelling; at length,
 Not unamaz'd, she thus in answer spake.

What may this mean? language of man pronounced

By tongue of brute, and human sense express'd?
 The first, at least, of these I thought denied 555
 To beasts; whom God, on their creation-day,
 Created mute to all articulate sound;

Ver. 549. *So glaz'd the Tempter, and his proem tun'd;
 Into the heart of Eve his words made way,*] He
 had here also the false dissembler *Comus* in his mind:

“ I, under fair pretence of friendly ends,
 “ And well-plac'd words of glazing courtesy
 “ Baited with reasons not unplaussible,
 “ *Wind me into the easy-hearted man,*
 “ And hug him into snares.”

And it may further be observed that, as the Serpent closes his conference with persuading Eve “to reach and freely taste the forbidden fruit,” v. 732, the Enchanter, in like manner, offers the Lady his cup with the same specious recommendation, “Be wife, and taste,” *Com.* v. 813.

Ver. 556. ——— *whom God, on their creation-day,
 Created mute*] This is exactly in the style of
 Scripture. “These are the generations of the Heavens and of
 the Earth *when they were created; in the day that the Lord God
 made the Earth and the Heavens,*” *Gen.* ii. 4. NEWTON,

The latter I demur ; for in their looks
 Much reason, and in their actions, oft appears.
 Thee, Serpent, subtlest beast of all the field 560
 I knew, but not with human voice endued ;
 Redouble then this miracle, and say,
 How cam'st thou speakable of mute, and how
 To me so friendly grown above the rest
 Of brutal kind, that daily are in fight ? 565
 Say, for such wonder claims attention due.

To whom the guileful Tempter thus replied.
 Empress of this fair world, resplendent Eve !
 Easy to me it is to tell thee all
 What thou command'st ; and right thou should'st
 be obey'd : 570

I was at first as other beasts that graze
 The trodden herb, of abject thoughts and low,
 As was my food ; nor aught but food discern'd
 Or sex, and apprehended nothing high :
 Till, on a day roving the field, I chanc'd 575

Ver. 563. *How cam'st thou speakable of mute,*] The word *speakable* is used in an active as well as in a passive sense, and may signify *what can speak* as well as *what can be spoken*. Here it is to be understood in the former sense ; *speakable* or *able to speak* ; as *comfortable*, *delectable*, &c. signify *able to comfort*, *to delight*. Thus, in Horace, the word *illacrymabilis* is used in a passive signification, *Od.* IV. ix. 26.

————— “ *sed omnes illacrymabiles*

“ *Urgentur ;*”

and in an active signification, *Od.* II. xiv. 6.

————— “ *places illacrymabilem*

“ *Plutona tauris.*” NEWTON.

A goodly tree far distant to behold
 Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mix'd,
 Ruddy and gold : I nearer drew to gaze ;
 When from the boughs a favoury odour blown,
 Grateful to appetite, more pleas'd my sense 580
 Than smell of sweetest fenel, or the teats
 Of ewe or goat dropping with milk at even,
 Unsuck'd of lamb or kid, that tend their play.
 To satisfy the sharp desire I had
 Of tasting those fair apples, I resolv'd 585
 Not to defer ; hunger and thirst at once,
 Powerful persuaders, quicken'd at the scent
 Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keen.
 About the mossy trunk I wound me soon ;
 For, high from ground, the branches would re-
 quire 590
 Thy utmost reach or Adam's : Round the tree
 All other beasts that saw, with like desire
 Longing and envying stood, but could not reach.
 Amid the tree now got, where plenty hung
 Tempting so nigh, to pluck and eat my fill 595
 I spar'd not ; for, such pleasure till that hour,
 At feed or fountain, never had I found.

Ver. 581. ——— *sweetest fenel, or the teats*] Dr. Newton
 observes, that the poet mentions such things as were reputed most
 agreeable to serpents. "*Feniculum* anguibz gratissimum," Pliny,
Nat. Hist. lib. xix. ch. 9. sect. 56. They were likewise sup-
 posed to suck the *teats* of ewes and goats. And Mr. Bowle adds,
 " I serpenti mangiano *finocchi*, pour havere chiara veduta."
Brunetto Latini, f. 72.

Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
 Strange alteration in me, to degree
 Of reason in my inward powers; and speech 600
 Wanted not long; though to this shape retain'd.
 Thenceforth to speculations high or deep
 I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
 Consider'd all things visible in Heaven,
 Or Earth, or Middle; all things fair and good:
 But all that fair and good in thy divine 606

Ver. 601. ————— *shape retain'd.*] Bentley would have it "*restrain'd.*" But the word of exactest propriety is *retain'd*. For *retain'd* signifies the being kept within such and such bounds in a natural state; *restrain'd*, to be kept within them in an unnatural: but the serpent's being confined to his own shape, was being in his natural state. WARBURTON.

Ver. 605. ————— *or Middle;*] In the air, the element placed between, and, as our author says, *spun out between*, Heaven and Earth, B. vii. 241. HUME.

Ver. 606. *But all that fair and good in thy divine
 Semblance, and in thy beauty's heavenly ray,
 United I beheld; &c.*] I present to the reader the flattery, with which the Serpent addresses Eve, in the *Adamo* of Andreini, p. 52.

" Mirami siso ò di beltà compendio,
 " Ornamento maggior di tutto il mondo,
 " Pompa de la Natura,
 " Picciolo Paradiso,
 " A cui s'inchina il tutto;
 " Doue foletta da l' amico lunge,
 " Adamo, hor te ne vai? doue son quelle
 " Schiere d' Angeli tanti
 " Del tuo bel fatti così vaghi amanti?
 " O mè felice cento volte, e mille,
 " Poi, che m' è dato in forte

Semblance, and in thy beauty's heavenly ray,
 United I beheld; no fair to thine
 Equivalent or second! which compell'd
 Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come 610
 And gaze, and worship thee of right declar'd
 Sovran of creatures, universal Dame!
 So talk'd the spirited fly Snake; and Eve,

“ Di rimírar con due sol luci quello,
 “ Che con tant' occhi à pena mira il Cielo.
 “ Credi pur se del Ciel la gran beltade
 “ Sotto human velo sè ammantar volesse,
 “ Ch' altro, che 'l tuo bel feno
 “ Non farebbe di lei stanza sublime.”

See also the preceding speech of the Serpent in this book, from v. 532 to v. 549.

Ver. 612. ————— *universal Dame!*] *Dame* conveys a low idea at present: But formerly it was an appellation of respect and honour, and signified *mistress* or *lady*; and was probably derived from the French *dame*, and the Latin *domina*. Universal Dame, *Domina Univerſi*. NEWTON.

The word *dame* is not only an appellation of respect, in our elder poetry; but also in Dryden, and Pope. “Nor has it yet lost its original brightness,” in the poetry of our own times. Witness the spirited address to the ladies, with which Mr. Roscoe's beautiful translation of *Tanfillo's Nurse* commences:

“ Accomplish'd *dames*, whose soft consenting minds
 “ The rosy chain of willing Hymen binds!”

Ver. 613. *So talk'd &c.*] Milton has shown more art and ability in taking off the common objections to the Mosaic history of the temptation, by the addition of some circumstances of his own invention, than in any other theological part of his poem. WARBURTON.

Ibid. ————— *the spirited fly snake*;] The word *spirited* here denotes the “diabolick power active within,” v. 95. For

Yet more amaz'd, unwary thus replied.

Serpent, thy overpraising leaves in doubt 615
The virtue of that fruit, in thee first prov'd :
But say, where grows the tree ? from hence how
far ?

For many are the trees of God that grow
In Paradise, and various, yet unknown
To us ; in such abundance lies our choice, 620
As leaves a greater store of fruit untouch'd,
Still hanging incorruptible, till men
Grow up to their provision, and more hands
Help to disburden Nature of her birth.

To whom the wily Adder, blithe and glad. 625
Empress, the way is ready, and not long ;
Beyond a row of myrtles, on a flat,
Fast by a fountain, one small thicket past
Of blowing myrrh and balm : if thou accept
My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon. 630

Lead then, said Eve. He, leading, swiftly
roll'd

In tangles, and made intricate seem straight,

Milton's participle is from the Italian *spnitare*, to be possessed with the devil.

Ver. 618. ——— *trees of God*] A Scripture phrase, as in *Psalms* civ. 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 631. ——— *He, leading, swiftly roll'd*
In tangles,] This is Virgil's "*rapit orbes per humum*:" But I think Tasso much exceeds them both, in describing the rolling of a serpent, *Gier. Lib. c. xv. st. 48.*

" Hor rientra in se stesso, hor le nodose

" Rote distende, e se dopo se tira." THYER.

So glister'd the dire Snake, and into fraud
 Led Eve, our credulous mother, to the tree
 Of prohibition, root of all our woe ; 645
 Which when she saw, thus to her guide she spake.

Serpent, we might have spar'd our coming
 hither,

Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to excess,
 The credit of whose virtue rest with thee ;
 Wonderous indeed, if cause of such effects. 650
 But of this tree we may not taste nor touch ;
 God so commanded, and left that command
 Sole daughter of his voice ; the rest, we live

Ver. 643. ————— *and into fraud*] *Fraud* signifies hurt and damage, as well as deceit and delusion, Virgil, *Æn.* x. 72.

“ Quis deus in fraudem, quæ dura potentia nostra
 “ Egit ? ” NEWTON.

Ver. 644. ————— *the tree*
Of prohibition,] An Hebraism for the prohibited or forbidden tree. NEWTON.

Ver. 648. *Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to excess,*] Besides the jingle, the same word is used in a literal and metaphorical sense, as in Bion, *Idyll.* i. 16.

Ἄγριον ἄγριον ἙΛΚΟΣ ἔχει παρὰ μηρὸν Ἀδωνι,
 Μείζον δ' ἂν Κυβέβεια φέρει ποτὶ κάρδιον ἙΛΚΟΣ.

And not unlike is that in Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 295.

“ Num capti potuere capi ? ” NEWTON.

Ver. 653. *Sole daughter of his voice ;*] Another Hebraism. *Bath Kol*, The daughter of a voice, is a noted phrase among the Jews ; and they understand by it a voice from heaven. And this command is called the *sole daughter*, as it is the only command that we read of, that was given to our first Parents in Paradise. See B. iv. 428, and 433. NEWTON.

Law to ourselves ; our reason is our law.

To whom the Tempter guilefully replied. 655
Indeed ! hath God then said that of the fruit
Of all these garden-trees ye shall not eat,
Yet Lords declar'd of all in earth or air ?

To whom thus Eve, yet sinless. Of the fruit
Of each tree in the garden we may eat ; 660
But of the fruit of this fair tree amidst
The garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat
Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

She scarce had said, though brief, when now
more bold 664

The Tempter, but with show of zeal and love
To Man, and indignation at his wrong,
New part puts on ; and, as to passion mov'd,
Fluctuates disturb'd, yet comely and in act

Ibid. ————— *the rest, we live*

Law to ourselves ;] The rest, *as for what remains, in all things else.* A Grecism, and common in Latin. So Virgil, "*cætera Græius,*" *Æn.* iii. 594.

We live law to ourselves : " These, having not the law, are a law unto themselves," *Rom.* ii. 14. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 656. Indeed ! *hath God then said &c.*] *Gen.* iii. 1. " *Yea*, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden ?" In which our author has followed the Chaldee Paraphrase interpreting the Hebrew particle, *Indeed*. Is it true that God has forbidden you to eat of the fruits of Paradise ? as if he had forbidden them to taste, not of one, but of all the trees ; another of Satan's sly insinuations. The Hebrew particle, *Yea* or *Indeed*, plainly shows that the short and summary account, which Moses gives of the Serpent's temptation, has respect to some previous discourse, which could, in all probability, be no other than what Milton has pitched upon. HUME.

Rais'd, as of some great matter to begin.
 As when of old some orator renown'd, 670
 In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence
 Flourish'd, since mute! to some great cause ad-
 dres'd,
 Stood in himself collected; while each part,

Ver. 673; *Stood in himself collected*;] This beautiful and nervous expression, which Milton has used in several places, was, I fancy, adopted from the Italian *in se raccolto*. I do not remember to have met with it in any English writer before his time. THYER.

Dryden has adopted the entire phrase from Milton in his *Theod. and Honor.* v. 97;

“Unus'd to fear, he summon'd all his soul,
 “And *stood collected in himself*, and whole.”

He repeats it in his *Aureng-zebe*, A. iv. S. i.

“*Stood firm collected in myself* within.”

Pope has copied Dryden, *Iliad* xi. 512.

“But stands collected in himself, and whole.”

Ibid. *St od in himself collected*; *while each* part,

Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue;] Dr.

Bentley says, that this passage has not Milton's character or turn. *Motion*, he thinks, should have *each* before it as well as *part* and *act*. What is *each part* and *each act*, before he had spoken a word? He therefore would have it,

“Stood in himself collected *whole*, *while each*
 “*Motion, each air*, won audience ere the tongue.”

But *act* is right, and is explained by Milton himself, in v. 668, to be what an orator puts himself into, before he begins to speak. But I cannot so easily answer the doctor's objection to *motion's* being destitute of *each*; nor do I understand how any *part* of the orator, considered by itself and merely as a part, could win audience. I suspect therefore that an *s* in the copy was mistaken for a comma, and that Milton gave it,

Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue ;

“ while each *part's*
 “ Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue.”

It was the graceful *motion* of *each part* of him, and not the parts themselves, that *won audience* and attention. If it should be objected, that it is not usual, with good poets, to leave the genitive case thus at the end of a verse, and put the nominative into the following one ; I allow that, though it is not very usual, yet it is sometimes done, and Milton himself does it, in B. v. 273.

“ in the *Sun's*
 “ Bright temple, &c.” PEARCE.

Or, suppose we should read with less alteration, than Dr. Bentley proposes,

“ Stood in himself collected *whole*, while each
 “ Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue.”

In himself collected whole, a manner of expression not unlike that in Horace, “ in seipso totus teres atque rotundus, *Sat.* II. vii. 86. But Dr. Greenwood says, there is so great a beauty in the pause being upon *collected*, and the expression, though good in itself, is rendered so much more nervous by it, that he should be sorry to have it weakened, as he thinks it would be, by inserting *whole* : besides, the ear would be offended by the harshness of *whole* and *while* coming together. So that, notwithstanding these objections, he prefers the common reading to any of the emendations proposed ; and would offer only this small alteration,

“ while each *part*,
 “ Motion, *and act*”—— NEWTON.

I wish to defend the whole passage, and not to alter a letter of the poet's words. And first, I conceive that “ *each part's motion*,” proposed by Dr. Pearce, could not be intended by Milton ; because *part*, *motion*, and *act*, are three distinct things. *Part* here signifies the position or *station* of the orator, that attention to the *parts* of the body, which Cicero calls “ *oratorius*

Sometimes in highth began, as no delay 675
 Of preface brooking, through his zeal of right:
 So standing, moving, or to highth up grown,
 The Tempter, all impassion'd, thus began.

O sacred, wife, and wisdom-giving Plant,
 Mother of science! now I feel thy power 680
 Within me clear; not only to discern
 Things in their causes, but to trace the ways
 Of highest agents, deem'd however wise.
 Queen of this universe! do not believe 684

status," De Orat. lib. i. sect. 59, and of which he gives a minute description in his Orat. ad Brutum, "*Status erectus, et cellus, &c.*" to which the poet also plainly adverts, v. 677, "*So standing.*"

Motion denotes the graceful and commanding gesture of the speaker, which Cicero calls "*oratorius motus*," and which the poet again distinguishes, v. 677, "*So standing, moving.*"

And *att* means the manner or sign, such as the waving of the hand, by which the orator wins attention, before he speaks; as in B. x. 458.

—————"who with hand
 "Silence, and with these words attention, won."

The Italians also say, "*Stava in atto, come se volesse parlarmi, He looked as if he would speak to me.*" Secondly,

The omission of *each* before *motion* is of little consequence, I think; for, if the passage be read attentively, the sense is perfectly intelligible, although the idiom indeed varies from common usage: But this is a circumstance so frequent in Milton, that few persons will condemn the passage, on that account, as "*having neither the character nor turn of the poet.*"

Ver. 675. *Sometimes in highth began, as no delay*

Of preface brooking, through his zeal of right:]

Thus Cicero, in his first oration against Catiline, "*Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientiâ nostrâ? &c.*" THYER.

Those rigid threats of death : ye shall not die :
How should you ? by the fruit ? it gives you
life

To knowledge ; by the threatener ? look on me,
Me, who have touch'd and tasted ; yet both live,
And life more perfect have attain'd than Fate
Meant me, by venturing higher than my lot. 690
Shall that be shut to Man, which to the Beast
Is open ? or will God incense his ire
For such a petty trespass ? and not praise
Rather your dauntless virtue, whom the pain
Of death denounc'd, whatever thing death be, 695
Deter'd not from achieving what might lead
To happier life, knowledge of good and evil ;
Of good, how just ? of evil, if what is evil
Be real, why not known, since easier shunn'd ?
God therefore cannot hurt ye, and be just ; 700
Not just, not God ; not fear'd then, nor obey'd :

Ver. 685. ————— *ye shall not die :*] *Gen. iii. 4.*
“ And the serpent said unto the woman, ye shall not surely
die.” And it is very artfully contrived by Milton to make the
serpent give an instance in himself. NEWTON.

Ver. 686. *How should you ? by the fruit ? it gives you life*
To knowledge ; by the threatener ? look on me,] In
Milton's own editions, the passage is thus improperly pointed :

“ How should ye ? by the fruit ? it gives you life
“ To knowledge ? by the threatener, look on me.”

Tickell follows Tonson's early editions, in still retaining the
note of interrogation after *knowledge*, but in supplying another
after *threatener*. Fenton corrected the error, and he has been
since followed.

Your fear itself of death removes the fear.
 Why then was this forbid? Why, but to awe;
 Why, but to keep ye low and ignorant,
 His worshippers? He knows that in the day 705
 Ye eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear,
 Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
 Open'd and clear'd, and ye shall be as Gods,
 Knowing both good and evil, as they know.
 That ye shall be as Gods, since I as Man, 710
 Internal Man, is but proportion meet;
 I, of brute, human; ye, of human, Gods.
 So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off
 Human, to put on Gods; death to be wish'd,
 Though threaten'd, which no worse than this can
 bring. 715

Ver. 702. *Your fear itself of death removes the fear.*] Justice is inseparable from the very being and essence of God, so that could he be unjust, he would be no longer God, and then neither to be obeyed nor feared; so that the fear of death, which does imply injustice in God, destroys itself, because God can as well cease to be, as to be just. A Satanick syllogism. HUME.

Ver. 704. ————— *Why, but to awe;*
Why, but to keep ye low &c.] The reader may here notice part of the Serpent's speech to Eve, in the *Adamo* del Cavalier Pona, Venet. 1664.—“ Non conoscete l' *artificio* di chi v' impone d' astenerui dal pomo: Quasi pentito Dio di hauerui creati così eccellenti, conoscendo, *che di poco siete inferiori à Lui*: e che quel non molto, che vi manca *per adeguarlo*, può andar supplito *dalla virtù rara di queste pome, ve l' hà vietate, &c.*” Lib. i. p. 30.

Ver. 714. ————— *to put on Gods;*] The Scripture expression, as in *I Cor. xv. 53.* “ For this corruptible must *put on* incorruption.” NEWTON.

And what are Gods, that Man may not become
 As they, participating God-like food?
 The Gods are first, and that advantage use
 On our belief, that all from them proceeds :
 I question it ; for this fair earth I see, 720
 Warm'd by the sun, producing every kind ;
 Them, nothing : if they all things, who enclos'd
 Knowledge of good and evil in this tree,
 That whoſo eats thereof, forthwith attains
 Wiſdom without their leave ? and wherein lies
 The offence, that Man ſhould thus attain to
 know ? 726
 What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree
 Impart againſt his will, if all be his ?

Ver. 720. *I question it ; for this fair earth I ſee, &c.*] Mi.
 Stillingfleet here refers to the *Cyclops* of Euripides, v. 331.

Ἡ γῆ δ' ἀνέγκη, καὶ νείλη, καὶ μὴ θείλη,
 Τά τεσσα πόσιον, τὰ μὲν ποιάει βοτά,
 Ἄ γ' ὧ τινι θύω, πλὴν ἐμοὶ, θεοῖσι δ' ὅ, κ. τ. λ.

Ver. 727. *What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree
 Impart againſt his will, if all be his ?*] Dr.
 Bentley ſays, that Milton had ſaid *Gods* in all the argument be-
 fore, and therefore deſigned here,

“ What can your knowledge hurt *them*, or this tree

“ Impart againſt *their* will, if all be *theirs* ?”

But Milton had ſaid *God* in v. 692, and v. 700: And, I think,
 he uſes the ſingular number in the very next preceding ſentence,
 v. 722.

————— “ *who* enclos'd
 “ Knowledge of good and evil in this tree ?”

So that *him* and *his* here refer to *him, who* enclos'd &c.

PEARCE.

Or is it envy ? and can envy dwell
In heavenly breasts ?—These, these, and many
more 730

Causes import your need of this fair fruit.
Goddeſs humane, reach then, and freely taſte.

He ended ; and his words, replete with guile,
Into her heart too eaſy entrance won :
Fix'd on the fruit ſhe gaz'd, which to behold 735
Might tempt alone ; and in her ears the ſound
Yet rung of his perſuaſive words, impregn'd
With reaſon, to her ſeeming, and with truth :
Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd
An eager appetite, rais'd by the ſmell 740
So ſavoury of that fruit, which with deſire,
Inclinable now grown to touch or taſte,
Solicited her longing eye ; yet fiſt
Pausing a while, thus to herſelf ſhe mus'd.

Great are thy virtues, doubtleſs, beſt of fruits,
Though kept from man, and worthy to be ad-
mir'd ; 746
Whoſe taſte, too long forborn, at fiſt aſſay

He ſeems to uſe both numbers promiſcuouſly, ſometimes ſpeak-
ing of *God*, ſometimes of *Gods* ; and, I think, we may obſerve,
that he generally ſpeaks of *Gods*, when the ſentiment would be
too horrid, if it was ſpoken of *God*. NEWTON.

Ver. 729. ——— — *can envy dwell*

In heavenly breasts ?] See note on B. vi. 788.

Ver. 739. *Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd*
An eager appetite,] This is a circumſtance beau-

tifully added by our author to the Scripture account, in order to
make the folly and impiety of Eve appear leſs extravagant and
monſtrous, NEWTON.

Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
The tongue not made for speech, to speak thy
praise :

Thy praise he also, who forbids thy use, 750
Conceals not from us, naming thee the tree
Of knowledge, knowledge both of good and evil ;
Forbids us then to taste ! but his forbidding
Commends thee more, while it infers the good
By thee communicated, and our want : 755
For good unknown sure is not had ; or, had
And yet unknown, is as not had at all,
In plain then, what forbids he but to know,
Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise ?
Such prohibitions bind not. But, if death 760
Bind us with after-bands, what profits then
Our inward freedom ? In the day we eat
Of this fair fruit, our doom is, we shall die !
How dies the Serpent ? he hath eat'n and lives,
And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns,
Irrational till then. For us alone 766
Was death invented ? or to us denied
This intellectual food, for beasts reserv'd ?
For beasts it seems : yet that one beast which first
Hath tasted envies not, but brings with joy 770
The good befall'n him, author unsuspect,
Friendly to man, far from deceit or guile.

Ver. 750. ——— *he also, who forbids*] As if it had
not been God who had forbidden ; but God was not now in all
her thoughts. She afterwards professes herself ignorant of him.
v. 775. · NEWTON.

What fear I then ? rather, what know to fear
 Under this ignorance of good and evil,
 Of God or death, of law or penalty ? 775
 Here grows the cure of all, this fruit divine,
 Fair to the eye, inviting to the taste,
 Of virtue to make wise : What hinders then
 To reach, and feed at once both body and mind ?
 So saying, her rash hand in evil hour 780
 Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she eat !
 Earth felt the wound ; and Nature from her seat,
 Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,

Ver. 782. ———— *and Nature from her seat,*

Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,]

Compare the *Sarcotis* of Masenius, lib. ii. p. 110. ed. Barbou ; where *Sarcothea* is represented reaching forth her hand to pluck the forbidden fruit, but not yet gathering it ; a similar prodigy however occurs :

“ Obtulit illa manus primùm ; sed dextra retractans

“ Sponte redit. *Natura nefas horrescere visa,*

“ *Pondere tam gravium cæpit titubare malorum.*”

Yet this prodigy is neither so affecting, nor so poetical in the description, as that of Milton. In Masenius also, after *Sarcothea* has eaten, a long description follows of the various prodigies which succeeded :

————— “ *Mora nulla, solutus Avernus*

“ *Exspuit infandas acies, fractumque remugit*

“ *Divulsâ compage solum, &c.*”

Twenty more lines are employed in painting the convulsions of earth, sea, and air, on the occasion. I need not observe to the reader with what conciseness and energy, with what beauty and judgement, Milton's scene of *completing the mortal sin* original is drawn. Virgil, as Addison observes, has related that the Earth trembled, the Heavens flashed with lightnings, and the Nymphs

That all was lost. Back to the thicket flunk
 The guilty Serpent; and well might; for Eve, 785
 Intent now wholly on her taste, nought else
 Regarded; such delight till then, as seem'd,
 In fruit she never tasted, whether true
 Or fancied so, through expectation high
 Of knowledge; nor was Godhead from her
 thought. 790

Greedily she ingorg'd without restraint,
 And knew not eating death: Sate at length,
 And highten'd as with wine, jocund and boon,
 Thus to herself she pleasingly began.

howled on the mountain-tops, when Dido was ruined. But though the reader should ransack all the volumes of poetry, both ancient and modern, he would never find a passage which might be brought in competition with the sublimity and pathos of Milton's, v. 1000.

“ Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
 “ In pangs; and Nature gave a second groan;
 “ Sky lour'd; and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
 “ Wept at completing of the mortal sin
 “ Original——”

Ver. 792. *And knew not eating death:*] It is a Greek phrase, used often by the Latins too. Oppian, *Halieut.* ii. 106.

——ἐδ' ἐνόησαν ἐν σπυῖδοντες ὀλιθρον.

They knew not hastening their death. Eating the fruit which brought death, was eating death, as being virtually contained in it. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 794. *Thus to herself &c.*] As our author had, in the preceding conference betwixt our first parents, described, with the greatest art and decency, the subordination and inferiority of the female character in strength of reason and understanding; so, in this soliloquy of Eve's after tasting the forbidden fruit, one

O sovran, virtuous, precious of all trees 795
 In Paradise! of operation blest
 To sapience, hitherto obscur'd, infam'd,
 And thy fair fruit let hang, as to no end
 Created; but henceforth my early care, 799
 Not without song, each morning, and due praise,
 Shall tend thee, and the fertile burden ease

may observe the same judgement, in his varying and adapting it to the condition of her fallen nature. Instead of those little defects in her intellectual faculties before the Fall, which were sufficiently compensated by her outward charms, and were rather softening than blemishes in her character; we see her now running into the greatest absurdities, and indulging the wildest imaginations. It has been remarked that our poet, in this work, seems to court the favour of his female readers very much; yet I cannot help thinking, but that in this place he intended a satirical, as well as a moral, hint to the ladies, in making one of Eve's first thoughts, after her fatal lapse, to be, how to get the superiority and mastery over her husband. There is, however, I think, a defect in this speech of Eve's, that there is no notice taken of the Serpent in it. Our author very naturally represents her, in the first transports of delight, expressing her gratitude to the fruit, which she fancied had wrought such a happy change in her, and next to *experience, her best guide*: but how is it possible, that she should, in these rapturous acknowledgments, forget her guide and instructor the Serpent, to whom in her then notion of things she must think herself the most indebted? I do not doubt but Milton was sensible of this; but, had he made Eve mention the Serpent, he could not have avoided too making her observe that he was slunk away; which might have given her some suspicions, and would consequently have much altered the scene which follows betwixt Adam and her. THYER.

Ver. 795. ———— precious of all trees] The positive for the superlative; the *most precious* of all trees; as Virgil, "Sequimur te, sancte deorum," *Æn.* iv. 576, and Homer, ΔΙΑ ΔΙΔΩΝ, *Iliad* v. 381. RICHARDSON.

Of thy full branches offer'd free to all;
 Till, dieted by thee, I grow mature
 In knowledge, as the Gods, who all things know;
 Though others envy what they cannot give: 805
 For, had the gift been theirs, it had not here
 Thus grown. Experience, next, to thee I owe,
 Best guide; not following thee, I had remain'd
 In ignorance; thou open'st wisdom's way,
 And giv'st access, though secret she retire. 810
 And I perhaps am secret: Heaven is high,
 High, and remote to see from thence distinct
 Each thing on Earth; and other care perhaps
 May have diverted from continual watch
 Our great Forbidder, safe with all his spies 815

Ver. 805. *Though others envy what they cannot give;*] She resolves to eat of the tree, till she equals the Gods in knowledge, *though others envy*; she means the Gods, though, for decency's sake, she names them not. She had said before, ver. 770, that *the beast which first hath tasted envious not* &c. but *others envy*. She is now arrived to that pitch of impiety, that she attributes *envy* to the Gods, as Satan had taught her, ver. 729; and questions whether this tree was their gift, as Satan had likewise suggested, v. 718, &c. Such impression had his doctrines made upon her. NEWTON.

Ver. 811. *And I perhaps am secret:*] She questions even God's Omniscience, and flatters herself that she is still in secret, like other sinners, who say, "The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it," *Psalms* xciv. 7. NEWTON.

Compare also this and the following line, with *Job*, xxii. 12, 13, 14.

Ver. 815. *Our great Forbidder, safe with all his spies*
About him.] Dr. Bentley declares *safe* to be nonsense, and therefore alters the verse thus;

About him. But to Adam in what sort
 Shall I appear? shall I to him make known
 As yet my change, and give him to partake

“ Our great *Forbidder's* eye with all his spies &c.”

But *safe* here signifies, as in the vulgar phrases, “ I have him *safe*,” or, “ He is *safe* asleep:” Where, not the safety of the person secured or asleep is meant, but the safety of others with respect to any danger from him. This is indeed a sense of the word not usual in poetry; but common speech will justify it so far, as to make the doctor's emendation unnecessary. PEARCE.

Ludicrous as the phrase may seem, it appears to me to have been purposely introduced by the poet: for the words, *SAFE with all his spies about him*, particularly express the contemptuous opinion which the speaker now entertained of God, or rather her affectation of turning into ridicule what once she dreaded.

Ver. 818. ——— and give him to partake &c.] An ingenious person and great admirer of Milton says, that “ to *give* to do a thing,” is, in his opinion, one of the most beautiful expressions in all the poetical language, as in Homer, *Il.* i. 18.

Ἦμῖν μὲν θεὸς ΔΟΙΕΝ, ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
 Ἐκπέραςαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εἴ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκίσθαι.

Virgil was so sensible of this charming expression, that he has used it in the three following passages, and I believe in one or two others, in the very first *Æneid*:

——— “ tibi Divum pater atque hominum rex
 “ Et mulcere dedit fluctus, &c.” v. 65.
 ——— “ Tu das epulis accumbere Divum,” v. 79.
 “ O regina, novam cui condere Jupiter urbem,
 “ Justitiâque dedit gentes frænare superbas,” v. 522.

I wonder he did not farther take notice of the same expression in his favourite Milton, in this place, and in B. i. 736.

——— “ and gave to rule,
 “ Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.”

NEWTON.

Full happiness with me, or rather not,
 But keep the odds of knowledge in my power 820
 Without copartner? so to add what wants
 In female sex, the more to draw his love,
 And render me more equal; and perhaps,
 A thing not undesirable, sometime
 Superiour; for, inferiour, who is free? 825
 This may be well: But what if God have seen,
 And death ensue? then I shall be no more!
 And Adam, wedded to another Eve,
 Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;
 A death to think! Confirm'd then I resolve, 830

Again, B. iii. 243.

————— “Thou hast *given* me to possess
 “Life in myself for ever.”

Ver. 823. ————— *and perhaps,*

A thing not undesirable, sometime

Superiour; for, inferiour, who is free?] There is

a very humorous tale in Chaucer which is also versified by Dryden, wherein the question is proposed, *What it is that women most affect and desire?* Some say wealth, some beauty, some flattery, some in short one thing, and some another; but the true answer is sovereignty. And the thought of attaining the superiority over her husband, is very artfully made one of the first that Eve entertains, after her eating of the forbidden fruit: but still her love of Adam, and jealousy of another Eve, prevail even over that; so just is the observation of Solomon, *Cant. viii. 6.* “*Love is strong as death, jealousy is cruel as the grave.*”

NEWTON.

The poet ridicules this desire of superiority, in his *Doct. and Discip. of Divorce*, where he says that the pretension to it is, “not for any parity of wisdom, for that were something reasonable, but out of a *female pride!*”

Adam shall share with me in bliss or woe :
 So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
 I could endure, without him live no life.

So saying, from the tree her step she turn'd ;
 But first low reverence done, as to the Power 835
 That dwelt within, whose presence had infus'd
 Into the plant scintillating sap, deriv'd
 From nectar, drink of Gods. Adam the while,
 Waiting desirous her return, had wove
 Of choicest flowers a garland, to adorn 840
 Her tresses, and her rural labours crown ;
 As reapers oft are wont their harvest-queen.
 Great joy he promis'd to his thoughts, and new
 Solace in her return, so long delay'd :

Ver. 832. *So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
 I could endure, without him live no life.*] How
 much stronger and more pathetick is this than that of Horace,
Od. III. ix. 24.

“ *Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.*”

NEWTON.

Ver. 835. *But first low reverence done,*] A phrase taken
 from his *Arcades*, v. 37.

“ Whom with *low reverence* I adore as mine.”

Ibid. *But first low reverence done, as to the Power
 That dwelt within,*] Eve falling into idolatry upon
 the taste of the forbidden tree, as the first fruit of disobedience,
 is finely imagined. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 838. ———— *Adam the while, &c.*] An-
 dromache is thus described as amusing herself, and preparing for
 the return of Hector ; not knowing that he was already slain by
 Achilles, *Iliad* xxii. 440. NEWTON.

Yet oft his heart, divine of something ill, 845
 Misgave him; he the faltering measure felt;
 And forth to meet her went, the way she took
 That morn when first they parted: by the tree
 Of knowledge he must pass; there he her met,
 Scarce from the tree returning; in her hand 850
 A bough of fairest fruit, that downy smil'd,
 New gather'd, and ambrosial smell diffus'd.
 To him she hasted; in her face excuse
 Came prologue, and apology too prompt;

Ver. 845. ———— divine of *something ill*,] *Foreboding something ill*; a Latin phrase, as in Horace, *Od.* III. xxvii. 10.

“*Imbivium divina avis imminetum.*”

See also *De Arte Poet.* v. 218. NEWTON.

Compare Euripides, *Androm.* v. 1075.

Αἶ, αἶ ΠΡΟΜΑΝΤΙΣ θυμὸς ὥς τι προσδοκᾷ.

And Virgil, “*præfaga mali mens*,” *Æn.* x. 843. See also *B.* x. 357. “In my heart *divin'd* &c.”

Ver. 846. ———— *he the faltering measure felt*;] He found his heart kept not true time, he felt the false and intermitting measure; the natural description of our minds foreboding ill, by the unequal beatings of the heart and pulse. HUME.

Ver. 851. ———— *that downy smil'd*,

New gather'd, and ambrosial smell diffus'd.] So, in v. 579, “from the boughs a savoury odour blows.” But the very words here, as Hume observes, are Virgil’s, *Georg.* iv. 415.

——— “*Et liquidum ambrosiæ diffudit odorem* :”

And *that downy smil'd*, that covered with soft down looked sweetly, may refer, as he notes, to *Ecl.* ii. 51.

“*Ipse ego cana legam tenerâ lanugine mala.*”

Ver. 854. ———— *apology too prompt*;] This is Fenton’s emendation. It was before, in all the editions, “apo-

Which, with bland words at will, she thus address'd. 855

Hast thou not wonder'd, Adam, at my stay?
Thee I have mis'd, and thought it long, depriv'd
Thy presence; agony of love till now
Not felt, nor shall be twice; for never more
Mean I to try, what rash untried I sought, 860
The pain of absence from thy sight. But strange
Hath been the cause, and wonderful to hear:
This tree is not, as we are told, a tree
Of danger tasted, nor to evil unknown
Opening the way, but of divine effect 865
To open eyes, and make them Gods who taste;
And hath been tasted such: The serpent wise,
Or not restrain'd as we, or not obeying,

logy to prompt," which Dr. Newton presumes to have been an error of the press. I follow the emendation, although it is not impossible that the poet might intend "*to prompt*" as a continuation of the imagery, drawn from the stage:

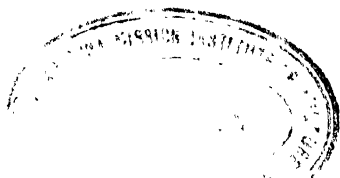
"Came *prologue*, and apology to *prompt*."

Ver. 866. ——— and make them Gods who taste;
And hath been tasted such:] See Eve's speech to Adam, in the *Adamo* of Andreini, ed. 1617. p. 74.

"Eccoti Adamo il Pomo.
"Che fai dir? lo gustai, nè son già morta.
"Ah, che viuer dourassi,
"Anzi farfi nel ciel simili à Dio;
"Ma pria conuien, che 'l Pomo
"Tutto frà noi si gusti,
"Indi poscia gustato
"A bel trono di rai trono stellato
"Ne condurràn gli Angeli lieti à volo."

VOL. III.

P



Hath eaten of the fruit ; and is become,
 Not dead, as we are threaten'd, but thenceforth
 Endued with human voice and human sense, 871
 Reasoning to admiration ; and with me
 Persuasively hath so prevail'd, that I
 Have also tasted, and have also found
 The effects to correspond ; opener mine eyes, 875
 Dim erst, dilated spirits, ampler heart,
 And growing up to Godhead ; which for thee
 Chiefly I fought, without thee can despise.
 For bliss, as thou hast part, to me is bliss ;
 Tedious, unshar'd with thee, and odious soon. 880
 Thou therefore also taste, that equal lot
 May join us, equal joy, as equal love ;

Ver. 875. ————— *opener mine eyes,*

Dim erst, dilated spirits, ampler heart,

And growing up to Godhead ;] Milton, in the

manner of expression, here seems pretty plainly to allude to what
 Thirstis, in Tasso's *Aminta*, says of himself, upon his seeing
 Phœbus and the Muses, A. i. S. ii.

“ Sentii mè far di mè stesso maggiore

“ Pien di noua virtu, piena di noua

“ Deitade.” THYER.

The manners here are finely in character. For Eve has eaten
 the forbidden fruit ; and she talks, in consequence, as one
brightened with wine, jocund and boon, v. 793. She repeats,
 with similar volubility and gaiety, the fancied effects of her bold
 deed, v. 984,

————— “ not death, but life

“ Augmented, open'd eyes, new hopes, new joys,

“ Taste so divine, that what of sweet before

“ Hath touch'd my sense, flat seems to this, and harsh.”

Left, thou not tasting, different degree
 Disjoin us, and I then too late renounce
 Deity for thee, when Fate will not permit. 885

Thus Eve with countenance blithe her story told;
 But in her cheek distemper flushing glow'd.
 On the other side, Adam, soon as he heard
 The fatal trespass done by Eve, amaz'd,
 Astonied stood and blank, while horror chill 890
 Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd;
 From his slack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve
 Down dropt, and all the faded roses shed:
 Speechless he stood and pale, till thus at length
 First to himself he inward silence broke. 895

O fairest of Creation, last and best

Ver. 890. *Astonied stood and blank, while horror chill
 Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd;*

So Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 120.

“Obstupere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit

“Ossa tremor.”

And *Æn.* xii. 951.

—— “Illi solvuntur frigore membra.” HUME.

See also Spenser, *Mourning Muse*, v. 151;

“A trembling chilly cold

“Ran through their veins.”

Ver. 892. *From his slack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve
 Down dropt,*] Compare Propertius, lib. iv. *Eleg.* ix.

“Pocula mi digitos inter cecidere remissos.”

And Persius, *Sat.* iii. 100.

—— “tremor inter vina subit, calidumque triental

“Excudit è manibus.” BOWLE.

Of all God's works, Creature in whom excell'd
 Whatever can to fight or thought be form'd,
 Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!
 How art thou lost! how on a sudden lost, 900
 Defac'd, deflower'd, and now to death devote!
 Rather, how hast thou yielded to transgress
 The strict forbiddance, how to violate
 The sacred fruit forbidd'n! Some curst fraud
 Of enemy hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown, 905
 And me with thee hath ruin'd; for with thee
 Certain my resolution is to die:
 How can I live without thee! how forego
 Thy sweet converse, and love so dearly join'd,

Ver. 897. ———— *Creature in whom excell'd &c.*] The Cavalier Pona, in his *Adamo*, thus laments the fall of Eve: "Pouera Eua! &c. mirata da tutti i celesti lumi, per lo miracolo delle cose create:—ricca de' tesori della bellezza, dell' amabilita, della gratia: Et hora in vilipendio, e in obbrobrio presso tutte le creature per colpa della tua colpa!" p. 41.

Ver. 901. ———— *and now to death devote!*] "*Devota morti pectora liberae*," Hor. *Od.* IV. xiv. 18.

Ver. 908. *How can I live without thee!*] Like the affectionate words of Admetus to Alceftis: Euripides, *Alceft.* v. 277.

Σὺ γὰρ φθιμένης, οὐκ ἔτ' αἶν εἶναι
 Ἐν σοὶ δ' ἔσμαιν καὶ ζῆν, καὶ μή.

Ver. 909. *Thy sweet converse, and love so dearly join'd,*] That is, as Dr. Pearce rightly understands it, "the sweet converse and love OF THEE so dearly join'd to me." This is a common way of speaking in Milton; and the reader may see more instances of it in B. iv. 129, and B. viii. 423. The sense of this verse is again found in v. 970:

————— "link'd in love so dear." NEWTON.

To live again in these wild woods forlorn ! 910
 Should God create another Eve, and I
 Another rib afford, yet loss of thee
 Would never from my heart : no, no ! I feel
 The link of Nature draw me : flesh of flesh,

Ver. 910. *To live again in these wild woods forlorn !*] How vastly expressive are these words of Adam's tenderness and affection for Eve ; as they imply, that the mere imagination of losing her had already converted the sweets of Paradise into the horrors of a desolate wilderness. THYER.

Ver. 913. ————— *no, no ! I feel*

The link of nature draw me :] The Scripture account of Eve's formation might possibly suggest this thought to Milton ; and yet I cannot help thinking but that he might probably have in view Plato's notion of the first human creatures being androgynous, that is, male and female in the same person, and that the affection now subsisting betwixt the different sexes is only a secret tendency or *drawing* of Nature towards her first state.

THYER.

I cannot agree with Mr. Thyer, respecting Milton's alluding here to Plato : For Milton himself has ridiculed this opinion, in his *Tetrachordon* : " It might be doubted why he saith, *In the image of God created he him*, not them, as well as *male and female* them ; especially since that image might be common to them both, but *male and female* could not, however the Jews fable, and please themselves with the accidental concurrence of Plato's wit, as if Man at first had been created *Hermaphrodite* : but then it must have been, male and female created he him."

It is the holy Book, to which Milton alludes ; and he again expresses the thought, v. 955.

" So forcible within my heart I feel
 " The bond of Nature draw me to my own,
 " My own in thee, for what thou art is mine ;
 " Our state cannot be sever'd ; we are one,
 " One flesh ; to lose thee were to lose myself."

Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy state 915
Mine never shall be parted, blifs or woe.

So having faid, as one from sad difmay
Recomforted, and after thoughts disturb'd
Submitting to what feem'd remedilefs, 919
Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd.

Bold deed thou haft prefum'd, adventurous Eve,
And peril great provok'd, who thus haft dar'd,
Had it been only coveting to eye
That facred fruit, facred to abftinence,
Much more to tafte it under ban to touch. 925
But paff who can recall, or done undo?
Not God Omnipotent, nor Fate; yet fo
Perhaps thou fhalt not die, perhaps the fact

Ver. 920. *Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd.*] He had till now been fpeaking to himfelf; now his fpeech turns to her, but not with violence, not with noife and rage: 'tis a deep confiderate melancholy. The line cannot but be pronounced, as it ought, flowly, gravely. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 922. ——— *who thus haft dar'd,*] So it is in the firft edition; but in the fecond, by miftake, it is printed "*haib* dar'd;" and that is followed by fome others. FLEWTON.

Ver. 928. *Perhaps thou fhalt not die, &c.*] How juft a picture does Milton here give us of the natural imbecillity of the human mind, and its aptnefs to be warped into falfe judgements and reasonings by paffion and inclination! Adam had but juft condemned the action of Eve in eating the forbidden fruit; and yet, drawn by his fondnefs for her, immediately fummons all the force of his reafon to prove what fhe had done to be right. This may probably appear a fault to fuperficial readers; but all intelligent ones will, I dare fay, look upon it as a proof of our author's exquisite knowledge of human nature. Reafon is but too often little better than a flave ready at the beck of the will

Is not so heinous now, foretasted fruit,
 Profan'd first by the serpent, by him first 930
 Made common, and unhallow'd, ere our taste ;
 Nor yet on him found deadly ; he yet lives ;
 Lives, as thou saidst, and gains to live, as Man,
 Higher degree of life ; inducement strong
 To us, as likely tasting to attain 935
 Proportional ascent ; which cannot be
 But to be Gods, or Angels, demi-Gods,
 Nor can I think that God, Creator wise,
 Though threatening, will in earnest so destroy
 Us his prime creatures, dignified so high, 940
 Set over all his works ; which in our fall,
 For us created, needs with us must fail,
 Dependant made ; so God shall uncreate,
 Be frustrate, do, undo, and labour lose ;
 Not well conceiv'd of God, who, though his
 power 945
 Creation could repeat, yet would be loth
 Us to abolish, lest the Adversary
 Triumph, and say ; “ Fickle their state whom
 God
 “ Most favours ; who can please him long ? Me
 first

to dress up, in plausible colours, any opinions that our interest or resentment have made agreeable to us. THYER.

Ver. 947. ————— *lest the Adversary*
 Triumph, and say ;] Deut. xxxii. 27. “ Lest the
 adversaries should say.” GILLIES.

“He ruin’d, now Mankind; whom will he
next?” 950

Matter of scorn, not to be given the Foe.
However I with thee have fix’d my lot,
Certain to undergo like doom: If death
Confort with thee, death is to me as life;
So forcible within my heart I feel 955
The bond of Nature draw me to my own;
My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
Our state cannot be sever’d; we are one,
One flesh; to lose thee were to lose myself.

So Adam; and thus Eve to him replied. 960
O glorious trial of exceeding love,
Illustrious evidence, example high!
Engaging me to emulate; but, short
Of thy perfection, how shall I attain,
Adam? from whose dear side I boast me sprung,
And gladly of our union hear thee speak, 966
One heart, one soul in both; whereof good proof
This day affords, declaring thee resolv’d,
Rather than death, or aught than death more dread,
Shall separate us, link’d in love so dear, 970
To undergo with me one guilt, one crime,
If any be, of tasting this fair fruit;
Whose virtue (for of good still good proceeds,
Direct, or by occasion,) hath presented
This happy trial of thy love, which else 975
So eminently never had been known.
Were it I thought death menac’d would ensue

This my attempt, I would sustain alone
 The worst, and not persuade thee, rather die
 Deserted, than oblige thee with a fact 980
 Pernicious to thy peace; chiefly, assur'd
 Remarkably so late of thy so true,
 So faithful, love unequall'd: but I feel
 Far otherwise the event; not death, but life
 Augmented, open'd eyes, new hopes, new joys,
 Taste so divine, that what of sweet before 986
 Hath touch'd my sense, flat seems to this, and
 harsh.

On my experience, Adam, freely taste,
 And fear of death deliver to the winds.

Ver. 978. ————— *I would sustain alone*

The worst, and not persuade thee, rather die

Deserted, than oblige thee with a fact

Pernicious to thy peace;] We have followed the

punctuation of the first edition, as the sense requires, which is plainly this, "If I thought the death that was threatened would be the consequence of this my attempt, I would suffer the worst alone, and not endeavour to persuade thee, I would rather die by myself forsaken of thee, than oblige thee with a fact pernicious to thy peace."

Oblige is used here in the large sense of the Latin word *obligo*, which signifies not only *to bind*, but *to render obnoxious to guilt or punishment*. We have in Cicero, "*Cum populum Romanum fecere obligasset,*" Orat. pro domo sua, viii. And, "*Sape etiam legum judiciorumque poenis obligantur,*" Fin. i. 14. And in Horace, *Od.* II. viii. 5.

————— "*Sed tu simul obligasti*

"*Perfidum votis caput.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 989. *And fear of death deliver to the winds.]* Dr. Newton observes, that "To deliver to the winds," is a sort of proverbial expression, as in Hor. *Od.* I. xxvi. 1.

So saying, she embrac'd him, and for joy 990
 Tenderly wept; much won, that he his love
 Had so ennobled, as of choice to incur
 Divine displeasure for her sake, or death.
 In recompence (for such compliance bad
 Such recompence best merits) from the bough 995
 She gave him of that fair enticing fruit
 With liberal hand: he scrupled not to eat,
 Against his better knowledge; not deceiv'd,
 But fondly overcome with female charm.
 Earth trembled from her entrails, as again 1000

————— “ Tristitiam et metus
 “ *Tradam* protervis in mare Creticum
 “ *Portare ventis.*”

Hume also notices the probable origin of the proverb, *Odysf.*
 viii. 409.

————— ἀτὰρ τὸ φέροιεν ἀναπαύσασαι ἄλλαι.

Ver. 998. ————— *not deceiv'd,*

But fondly overcome with female charm.] Accord-
 ing to the historical relation of Moses, he did not plead for him-
 self, that he was deceived (the excuse of Eve cheated by the
 Serpent) but rather enticed and persuaded by her: “ The woman
 whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and
 I did eat,” *Gen.* iii. 12. Whence St. Paul, “ Adam was *not*
deceived; but the woman, being deceived, was in the trans-
 gression,” 1 *Tim.* ii. 14.

Overcome with female charm, which the holy page styles,
 “ hearkening unto the voice of his wife,” *Gen.* iii. 17.

“ Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?”

Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 412. HUME.

Ver. 1000. *Earth trembled &c.* —————

————— *while Adam took no thought,*] It could
 not be expected, that Adam should take any more notice of this

In pangs ; and Nature gave a second groan ;
 Sky lour'd ; and, muttering thunder, some sad
 drops
 Wept at completing of the mortal sin
 Original : while Adam took no thought,

second groan of Nature, when he had eaten of the forbidden fruit, than Eve did of the first, after her transgression ; because they are represented *as with new wine intoxicated both*. But I wonder that this accurate and careful writer hath not hinted something at Adam's thoughts upon the first convulsion, when he was in a state of innocence, calmness, and retirement. *As Nature through all her works gave signs of woe*, he could not but be very sensible of it : and, if so, he must certainly be startled at a phenomenon so strange and new. This I think deserved in some measure to be accounted for ; and it might perhaps have been properly introduced as a reason for awakening his apprehensions, and making *his heart, divine of something ill, misgive him*, as well as *her so long delay'd return*, v. 844 ; or it might have been cleared up by some other such lucky turn of thought, as our author is master of upon most occasions. GREENWOOD.

Here are two sources of the sublime ; the prodigy strikes with horror, the vastness of the idea overwhelms with astonishment. In this place an unskilful poet would probably have brought on such a storm of thunder and lightning, and so violent an earthquake, as must have overturned the mountains, and set the woods on fire. But Milton, with better judgement, makes the alarm of that deep and awful kind, which cannot express itself in any other way, than by an inward and universal trembling : a sensation more affecting to the fancy, than those passions are, which vent themselves in outrageous behaviour ; even as that sorrow is the most pathetick, which deprives one of the power of lamentation, and discovers itself only by fainting and groans. Besides, if this convulsion of the universe had been more violent, the unhappy offenders must have been confounded and terrified ; which would not have suited the poet's purpose. For he tells us, and indeed the circumstances that follow (which, by the by,

Eating his fill; nor Eve to iterate 1005
 Her former trespasses fear'd, the more to sooth
 Him with her lov'd society; that now,
 As with new wine intoxicated both,
 They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
 Divinity within them breeding wings, 1010
 Wherewith to scorn the earth: But that false fruit
 Far other operation first display'd,
 Carnal desire inflaming; he on Eve
 Began to cast lascivious eyes; she him
 As wantonly repaid; in lust they burn: 1015
 Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move.

Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,
 And elegant, of sapience no small part;
 Since to each meaning favour we apply,

are exquisitely contrived) do all suppose, that our first parents were so intent on gratifying their impious appetite, that they took no notice of the prodigies, which accompanied the transgression. BEATTIE.

Ver. 1002. *Sky lour'd; and, muttering thunder,*] It is not meant, that thunder also lour'd: *muttering thunder* is in the absolute case absolute. It was not loud claps of thunder, but *muttering* thunder, melancholy and mournful. NEWTON.

Ver. 1009. ————— *and fancy that they feel*

Divinity within them breeding wings,

Wherewith to scorn the earth:] In the *Adamo*

of Andreini, Eve persuades Adam, that, after they have eaten the fruit, angels shall guide their *flight* to the stars. See note, v. 866. And, in Loredano's *Life of Adam*, Eve thus addresses her husband: "See here an argument of the love I bear you! —I bring thee in *this apple* the DIVINITY that God denied us!" P. 33.

Ver. 1019. *Since to each meaning favour we apply,*] Since we use the word *favour* in both senses, and apply it to the un-

And palate call judicious ; I the praise 1020
 Yield thee, so well this day thou hast purvey'd.
 Much pleasure we have lost, while we abstain'd
 From this delightful fruit, nor known till now
 True relish, tasting ; if such pleasure be
 In things to us forbidd'n, it might be wish'd, 1025
 For this one tree had been forbidden ten.
 But come, so well refresh'd, now let us play,
 As meet is, after such delicious fare ;
 For never did thy beauty, since the day
 I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd 1030
 With all perfections, so inflame my sense
 With ardour to enjoy thee, fairer now
 Than ever ; bounty of this virtuous tree !
 So said he, and forbore not glance or toy

derstanding as well as to the palate ; as in Cicero, “ Nec enim sequitur, ut cui cor *sapiat*, ei non *sapiat palatum*,” *De Fin.* ii. 8.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1028. ——— after such delicious fare ;] So, in his *Prise-Works*, vol. i. p. 257. 1698. “ Lords of stately palaces, rich furniture, *delicious fare*, and princely attendance.”

Ver. 1029. *For never did thy beauty &c.*] Milton had in mind the conversation between Paris and Helen in the third *Iliad*, as well as that between Jupiter and Juno on Mount Ida. And, as Pope observes, it is with wonderful judgement and decency that Milton has used that exceptionable passage of the dalliance, ardour, and enjoyment, of Jupiter and Juno. That which seems in Homer an impious fiction, becomes a moral lesson in Milton ; since he makes that lascivious rage of the passion the immediate effect of the sin of our first parents, after the Fall.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1034. *So said he, and forbore not glance or toy &c.*] What a fine contrast does this description of the amorous follies

Of amorous intent ; well understood 1035
 Of Eve, whose eye darted contagious fire.
 Her hand he feis'd ; and to a shady bank,
 Thick over-head with verdant roof imbower'd,
 He led her nothing loth ; flowers were the couch,
 Pansies, and violets, and asphodel, 1040
 And hyacinth ; Earth's freshest softest lap.
 There they their fill of love and love's disport
 Took largely, of their mutual guilt the seal,
 The solace of their sin ; till dewy sleep
 Oppress'd them, wearied with their amorous
 play. 1045
 Soon as the force of that fallacious fruit,
 That with exhilarating vapour bland
 About their spirits had play'd, and inmost powers
 Made err, was now exhal'd ; and groffer sleep,

of our first parents after the Fall make to that lovely picture of
 the same passion in its state of innocence, in the preceding book,
 v. 510.

—————" To the nuptial bower
 " I led her blushing like the morn : All Heaven,
 " And happy constellations &c !" THYER.

Ver. 1042. *There they their fill of love and love's disport*
Took largely,] *Proverbs, vii. 18. " Come,*
let us take our fill of love."

Ver. 1049. ————— *and groffer sleep,*
Bred of unkindly fumes,] How unlike the sleep
 mentioned in B. v. 3.

—————" for his sleep
 " Was aery-light, from pure digestion bred,
 " And temperate vapours bland."

The sleep of sin is nothing like the sleep of innocence.

NEWTON.

Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams
Incumber'd, now had left them ; up they rose
As from unrest ; and, each the other viewing,
Soon found their eyes how open'd, and their
 minds

How darken'd; innocence, that as a veil
Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone;
Just confidence, and native righteousness,
And honour, from about them, naked left

Ver. 1057. ————— naked left

To guilty Shame; &c.] This passage has occasioned much perplexity and confusion, by its having been wrong pointed in almost all the editions. After *Shame* there is no stop even in Milton's own editions, and there should have been a semicolon at least. And then follows *be cover'd*, for *Shame* (as Dr. Pearce observes) is here made a person, (as again in ver. 1097.) And this *Shame* is *he* who *cover'd* Adam and Eve with his robe; but this *robe* of his *uncover'd* them *more*: that is, though they were clothed with shame, yet they thereby more discovered their nakedness. Milton speaks in the same manner in *Samson Agon.* v. 841, 842.

“ In vain thou striv’st to cover shame with shame,

"Or by evasions thy crime uncover'ft more."

In the author's second edition, after the words *Uncover'd more*, there is a full stop, and a new sentence beginning thus, *So rose the Danite strong*, &c. with the punctuation which we have followed; from whence it evidently appears, that this is the true construction; that, As Samson wak'd shorn of his strength, They wak'd destitute and bare of all their virtue: And then begins another sentence, *Silent, and in face confounded, long they sat*. I suppose it need not be observed that Samson is called the *Danite*, as being of the tribe of *Dan*. NEWTON.

Milton was probably in this place instructed by the Psalmist :
 " Let mine adversaries be clothed with shame ; and let them
 cover themselves with their own confusion, as with a cloak."
Psalm, cix. 28. BOWLE.

To guilty Shame; he cover'd, but his robe
 Uncover'd more. So rose the Danite strong,
 Herculean Samson, from the harlot-lap 1060
 Of Philistean Dalilah, and wak'd
 Shorn of his strength, They destitute and bare
 Of all their virtue: Silent, and in face
 Confounded, long they sat, as stricken mute:
 Till Adam, though not less than Eve abash'd, 1065
 At length gave utterance to these words constrain'd.

O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
 To that false worm, of whomsoever taught
 To counterfeit Man's voice; true in our fall,
 False in our promis'd rising; since our eyes 1070
 Open'd we find indeed, and find we know
 Both good and evil; good lost, and evil got;
 Bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know;
 Which leaves us naked thus, of honour void,
 Of innocence, of faith, of purity, 1075
 Our wonted ornaments now foil'd and stain'd,
 And in our faces evident the signs

Ver. 1064. ————— *stricken mute*:] It is not improbable, as Mr. Stillingfleet observes, that this vulgar expression may owe its origin to the stories, in Romances, of the effect of the magical wand.

Ver. 1068. *To that false worm*,] *Worm* is the Teutonic word for *serpent*, according to Dr. Johnson, who notices also the existence of *blind-worm* and *slow-worm* in our language. In Shakspeare, *worm* is often used for *serpent*. See many instances in the note on *Antony and Cleopatra*, Steevens's Shakspeare, vol. xii. 675, edit. 1793.

Of foul concupiscence ; whence evil store ;
 Even shame, the last of evils ; of the first
 Be sure then.—How shall I behold the face 1080
 Henceforth of God or Angel, erst with joy
 And rapture so oft beheld ? Those heavenly shapes
 Will dazzle now this earthly with their blaze
 Insufferably bright. O ! might I here
 In solitude live savage ; in some glade 1085
 Obscur'd, where highest woods, impenetrable
 To star or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad
 And brown as evening : Cover me, ye Pines !
 Ye Cedars, with innumerable boughs
 Hide me, where I may never see them more !—
 But let us now, as in bad plight, devise 1091
 What best may for the present serve to hide
 The parts of each from other, that seem most

Ver. 1086. ——— *where highest woods, impenetrable
 To star or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad
 And brown as evening :*] The expression of
woods impenetrable to star seems to be copied from Statius,
Theb. x. 85.

—————“ nulli penetrabilis astro

“ Lucus iners.” NEWTON.

So Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. i. 7.

“ Whose lofty trees, yclad with summer’s pride,

“ Did spread so wide, they heaven’s light did hide :

“ Not pearceable with power of any star.”

It may be observed also, that Milton here uses the word *brown*,
 as he had before done *imbrown’d*, in imitation of the Italians.

THYER.

Ver. 1092. *What best may for the present serve to hide
 The parts of each from other,*] These lines are
 thus misprinted in the second edition ;

To shame obnoxious, and unseemliest seen ;
 Some tree, whose broad smooth leaves together
 few'd, 1095

And girded on our loins, may cover round
 Those middle parts ; that this new comer, Shame,
 There sit not, and reproach us as unclean.

So counsell'd he, and both together went
 Into the thickest wood ; there soon they chose 1100
 The fig-tree ; not that kind for fruit renown'd,

“ What best may *from* the present serve to hide

“ The parts of each *for* other.”

And, as to the matter of printing, it must be said, that of Milton's two editions the first is in general more correct than the second ; though Mr. Richardson, and others, have cried up the second as the only genuine and standard edition. NEWTON.

Ver. 1101. *The fig-tree ; &c.*] It has not been observed by the commentators, that this *fig-tree*, a good article for such a romantick history, is described by Quintus Curtius, *Hist. Alexandr.* lib. ix. c. i. p. 679, lib. vi. c. v. p. 395, edit. Amstel. 1684. I must add one or two more circumstances. Milton was a student in Botany. He took his description of this multifarious tree from the account of it in Gerard's *Herball*, many of whose expressions he literally repeats. See Gerard, lib. iii. c. 135, p. 1513, edit. 1633. “ *Of the Arched Indian Fig-Tree.* The ends [of the branches] hang downe and touch the ground, where they *take roote* and growe in such fort, that those *twigs* become great trees : and these, being grown vp vnto the like greatnesse, doe cast their branches or twiggy tendrels vnto the earth, where they likewise take hold and roote ; by meanes whereof it cometh to passe, that of one tree is made a great wood or desert of trees, which the *Indians* do vse for *couerture* against the *extreme heate of the sun*.—Some likewise vse them for pleasure, cutting downe by a direct line a long *walke*, or as it were a vault, through the *thickest* part, from which also they cut certaine *loop-holes* or windowes in some places, to the end to

But such as at this day, to Indians known,
In Malabar or Decan spreads her arms

receiue thereby the fresh *coole* aire that entreth thereat, as also for light that they may *see their cattell* that *feed* thereby, &c. From which vault or clofe *walke* doth rebound such an admirable *echo* or answering voice, &c. The first or *mother* of this wood, is hard to be known from the *children*, &c."—In the margin is a representation of the vegetable arcade. Milton has also availed himself of Gerard's reference to Pliny. The *Amazonian targe* is from Pliny, as quoted by Gerard.

Jonson, however, had been before-hand with Milton, in introducing this tree into English poetry. *Neptune's Triumph*, first acted in 1624, vol. vi. p. 159.

—————" The goodly bole being got
" To certaine cubits hight, from every side
" The boughs decline ; which, taking root afresh,
" Spring up new boles, and these spring new, and newer ;
" Till the whole tree become a porticus,
" Or arched arbour, able to receive
" A numerous troupe, &c."

Gerard's work was first published in 1597. WARTON.

Mr. Bowle cites the same passage from Gerard, and adds the following illustration from Terry's *Voyage to East-India*, edit. 1655, pp. 103, 104. " There is one very great and fair tree growing in that soil, of special observation ; out of whose *branches* or great *arms* grow little sprigs downwards, till they *take root* (as they will certainly do if they be let alone) ; and, taking root, at length prove strong supporters unto those large branches that yield them. Whence it comes to pass, that those trees in time (their strong and far-extended arms being in many places thus supported) grow to a very great height, and extend themselves to such an incredible breadth, they growing round every way, as that hundreds of them may shade themselves under one of them at any time ; the rather, because these, as all other trees in those southern parts [of which is *Malabar*] of East-India, still keep on their green coats.—Some of their trees have *leaves* upon them *broad as bucklers*."

Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
 The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
 About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade 1106
 High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between :

I may refer the reader also to Duret's *Histoire admirable des plantes et herbes esmerueillables et miraculeuses en nature*, Paris, 1605, p. 124. " *Du Figuier d'Inde* ;" and to Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Lond. 1794, vol. iii. p. 168, &c. " *Of the great Banian-Tree*, the noblest natural temple in the world." But I will not omit to mention what is related of the *magnitude* of this tree, in Ives's *Journey from Persia*, Lond. 1773, p. 199. " Under its shade and branches Mr. Doidge computed that ten thousand men might stand without incommoding themselves, allowing six men to a yard square."

I have now to subjoin a very valuable comment on this passage of the poet, communicated to me by a learned and ingenious Traveller, well-known to the literary world, Eyles Irwin, Esq. " A more poetical or just description of the *Bhur* or *Banian* tree cannot be imagined, than what has come from the pencil of the sublime bard. But, from the Portuguese name of this tree, he would seem to have been led into a mistake, and to confound it with the plantain, which, in all probability, from the magnitude and flexibility of its leaves, was applied by our first parents to the same purpose, as the Puliar cast now use it on the coast of *Malabar*. From the fruit, which resembles a fig in appearance, though not eatable, the first discoverers of India called the tree the *Figo* ; as the service, to which it is usually consecrated, induced the English to give it the appellation of *Banian*, or *sacred*. Its leaves are the finest of the forest-kind, and not

————— *broad as Amazonian targe.*

While it becomes the duty of a traveller to correct the descriptive passages of poetry, the true lovers of the divine art will agree with him, that it would have been an irreparable loss to the world, if the fancy of Milton in the picture of the *Bhur*, had been restrained by the local knowledge of his annotator."

There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
At loop-holes cut through thickest shade : Those
leaves 1110

They gather'd, broad as Amazonian targe ;
And, with what skill they had, together sew'd,
To gird their waist ; vain covering, if to hide
Their guilt and dreaded shame ! O, how unlike
To that first naked glory ! Such of late 1115
Columbus found the American, so girt
With feather'd cincture ; naked else, and wild
Among the trees on isles and woody shores.
Thus fenc'd, and, as they thought, their shame
in part

Cover'd, but not at rest or ease of mind, 1120
They sat them down to weep ; nor only tears
Rain'd at their eyes, but high winds worse within
Began to rise, high passions, anger, hate,
Mistrust, suspicion, discord ; and shook fore
Their inward state of mind, calm region once
And full of peace, now tost and turbulent : 1126
For Understanding rul'd not, and the Will
Heard not her lore ; both in subjection now
To sensual Appetite, who from beneath
Usurping over sovran Reason claim'd 1130
Superiour sway : From thus distemper'd breast,
Adam, estrang'd in look and alter'd style,
Speech intermitted thus to Eve renew'd.

Ver. 1128. ——— both *in subjection*] Fenton reads
“ *but in subjection.* ”

Would thou hadst hearken'd to my words, and
staid 1134

With me, as I befought thee, when that strange
Desire of wandering, this unhappy morn,
I know not whence possess'd thee; we had then
Remain'd still happy; not, as now, despoil'd
Of all our good; sham'd, naked, miserable!
Let none henceforth seek needless cause to ap-
prove 1140

The faith they owe; when earnestly they seek
Such proof, conclude, they then begin to fail.

To whom, soon mov'd with touch of blame,
thus Eve.

What words have pass'd thy lips, Adam severe!

Ver. 1134. *Would thou hadst hearken'd to my words, &c.*] Mr. Stillingfleet observes the great simplicity of expression throughout this and the next speech; and refers also to Nestor's remark to Agamemnon, *Il.* ix. 108.

Οὐτι καθ' ἡμέτερον γε νόον· μάλα γὰρ τοι ἔγωγε
Πόλλ' ἀπειμυδέομην· σὺ δὲ κ. τ. λ.

And, again, to the poet's observation on Patroclus having disregarded the advice of Achilles, *Il.* xvi. 686.

——— εἰ δὲ ἔπος Πηληϊάδαο φύλαξεν,
ἦτ' αὖ ἐπέκφυγε κῆρα κακὴν μέλανος θανάτοιο.

Ver. 1140. *Let none henceforth seek needless cause to approve
The faith they owe;*] As Eve had done, when
she said, v. 335.

“And what is faith, love, virtue, unassay'd, &c.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 1144. *What words have pass'd thy lips, Adam severe?*] In imitation of Homer, *Il.* xiv. 83.

Ἀτρεΐδη, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγει ἕρκος ὀδόντων; THYER,

Imput'ſt thou that to my default, or will 1145
Of wandering, as thou call'ſt it, which who
knows

But might as ill have happen'd thou being by,
Or to thyſelf perhaps? Hadſt thou been there,
Or here the attempt, thou couldſt not have diſ-
cern'd

Fraud in the Serpent, ſpeaking as he ſpake; 1150
No ground of enmity between us known,
Why he ſhould mean me ill, or ſeek to harm.

Was I to have never parted from thy ſide?
As good have grown there ſtill a lifeleſs rib.
Being as I am, why didſt not thou, the head, 1155
Command me abſolutely not to go,

Going into ſuch danger, as thou ſaidſt?
Too facile then, thou didſt not much gainſay;
Nay, didſt permit, approve, and fair diſmiſs.
Hadſt thou been firm and fix'd in thy diſſent, 1160
Neither had I tranſgreſs'd, nor thou with me.

To whom, then firſt incens'd, Adam replied.
Is this the love, is this the recompence
Of mine to thee, ingrateful Eve! expreſs'd
Immutable, when thou wert loſt, not I; 1165

Ver. 1162. *To whom, then firſt incens'd, Adam replied.*] As Adam is now firſt angry, his ſpeech is abrupt and his ſentences broken.

"*Is this the love,*" Dr. Bentley reads, "*Is this thy love, is this the recompence of mine to thee,*" of my love to thee, which was "*expreſs'd immutable when thou wert loſt?*"

NEWTON,



Who might have liv'd, and joy'd immortal blifs,
 Yet willingly chose rather death with thee?
 And am I now upbraided as the cause
 Of thy transgressing? Not enough severe,
 It seems, in thy restraint: What could I more?
 I warn'd thee, I admonish'd thee, foretold 1171
 The danger, and the lurking enemy
 That lay in wait; beyond this, had been force;
 And force upon free will hath here no place.
 But confidence then bore thee on; secure 1175
 Either to meet no danger, or to find
 Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps
 I also err'd, in overmuch admiring
 What seem'd in thee so perfect, that I thought
 No evil durst attempt thee; but I rue 1180
 That error now, which is become my crime,

Ver. 1166. *Who might have liv'd, and joy'd immortal blifs,
 Yet willingly chose rather death with thee?*] Mr.
 Stillingfleet here refers to the conversation of Alcestis with
 Admetus, in which there is undoubtedly a similar sentiment,
 applied by the affectionate wife; who resolves to die, in order
 to save her husband. Euripides, *Alcest.* v. 282.

Ἐγὼ σε πρεσβεύουσα, καὶ ντὶ τῆς ἡμῆς
 Ψυχῆς κατασχέασα φῶς τόδ' εἰσορᾶν,
 Θήσκω, παρὼν μοι μὴ θανεῖν, ὑπὲρ σέθεν,
 Ἄλλ' ἄνδρα τε σχοῖν Οἰσσεῶν, ὃν ἦθιλον,
 Καὶ δῶμα ναῖεν ὄλβιον τυρανίδι.
 Οὐκ ἠδίκησα ζῆν ἀποσπασθεῖσα σου κ. τ. λ.

Ver. 1170. — *in thy restraint:*] So it is in the early
 editions. In Tonson's of 1711, it is "in my restraint," which
 Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley, have improperly followed. Dr.
 Newton restored the genuine reading.

And thou the accuser. Thus it shall befall
 Him, who, to worth in women overtrusting,
 Lets her will rule: restraint she will not brook;
 And, left to herself, if evil thence ensue, 1185
 She first his weak indulgence will accuse.

Thus they in mutual accusation spent
 The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning;
 And of their vain contest appear'd no end.

Ver. 1183. ————— *in women overtrusting,*] Dr. Bentley reads *woman*, and I should rather prefer it on account of what follows, "*her* will, *she* will not brook, left to *herself* &c;" though *women* may be justified, such a transition from the plural to the singular number being not uncommon in the best authors, as in Terence, *Eun.* II. i. 10.

"Dii boni quid hoc morbi est? adeon' homines immutariet

"Ex amore, ut non cognoscas eundem esse?" NEWTON.

Ver. 1185. ————— *if evil thence ensue, &c.*] Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 283.

—————"Nihil est audacius illis

"Deprensus; iram atque animos à crimine fumunt."

HUME.

THE END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

THE

TENTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Man's transgression known, the guardian-Angels forsake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approved; God declaring that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He sends his Son to judge the transgressors; who descends and gives sentence accordingly; then in pity clothes them both, and reascends. Sin and Death, sitting till then at the gates of Hell, by wonderful sympathy feeling the success of Satan in this new world, and the sin by Man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confined in Hell, but to follow Satan their sire up to the place of Man: To make the way easier from Hell to this world to and fro, they pave a broad high-way or bridge over Chaos, according to the track that Satan first made; then, preparing for Earth, they meet him, proud of his success, returning to Hell; their mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium, in full assembly relates with boasting his success against Man; instead of applause is entertained with a general hiss by all his audience, transformed with himself also suddenly into serpents, according to his doom given in Paradise; then, deluded with a shew of the forbidden tree springing up before them, they, greedily reaching to take of the fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings of Sin and Death; God foretels the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things; but, for the present, commands his Angels to make several alterations in the Heavens and elements. Adam, more and more perceiving his fallen condition, heavily bewails, rejects the condolment of Eve; she persists, and at length appeases him: then, to evade the curse likely to fall on their offspring, proposes to Adam violent ways, which he approves not; but, conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promise made them, that her seed should be revenged on the Serpent; and exhorts her with him to seek peace of the offended Deity, by repentance and supplication.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK X.

MEAN while the heinous and despiteful act
Of Satan, done in Paradise; and how
He, in the serpent, had perverted Eve,
Her husband she, to taste the fatal fruit,
Was known in Heaven; for what can 'scape the
eye 5
Of God all-seeing, or deceive his heart
Omniscient? who, in all things wise and just,
Hinder'd not Satan to attempt the mind
Of Man, with strength entire, and free will,
arm'd;
Complete to have discover'd and repuls'd 10
Whatever wiles of foe or seeming friend.
For still they knew, and ought to have still re-
member'd,
The high injunction, not to taste that fruit,
Whoever tempted; which they not obeying,

Ver. 9. *Of Man,* _____
For still they knew,] *Man* collectively is the antecedent to the plural relative *they*, v. 12, as in *Gen.* i. 26. "God said, Let us make *Man* in our image, and let *them* have dominion, &c." HEYLIN.

Incurr'd (what could they less ?) the penalty ; 15
 And, manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.
 Up into Heaven from Paradise in haste
 The angelick guards ascended, mute, and sad,
 For Man ; for of his state by this they knew, 19
 Much wondering how the subtle Fiend had stol'n
 Entrance unseen. Soon as the unwelcome news
 From Earth arriv'd at Heaven-gate, displeas'd
 All were who heard ; dim sadness did not spare
 That time celestial visages, yet, mix'd
 With pity, violated not their bliss. 25

Ver. 16. *And, manifold in sin,*] Every sin is complicated in some degree : And the divines, especially those of Milton's communion, reckon up *several sins* as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit ; namely, pride, uxoriousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience, &c ; so that, for such complicated guilt, he *deserv'd to fall* from his happy state in Paradise.

NEWTON.

Ver. 23. ————— *dim sadness did not spare*

That time celestial visages, yet, mix'd

With pity, violated not their bliss.] What a just

and noble idea does Milton here give us of the blessedness of a benevolent temper ; and how proper, at the same time, to obviate the objection, that might be made, of sadness dwelling in heavenly Spirits ! THYER.

Here *pity* is made to prevent their *sadness* from violating their bliss : But the latter passion is so far from alleviating the former, that it adds weight to it. If you read (*mix'd with pity*) in a parenthesis, this cross reasoning will be avoided. WARBURTON.

Milton, no doubt, intended this construction ; only the comma after *yet* remained to be supplied. Such omissions in the original punctuation are not uncommon. Dr. Newton remarks, that it is plain that Milton conceived sadness *mix'd with pity* to be more consistent with heavenly bliss, than sadness without that com-

About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes
 The ethereal people ran, to hear and know
 How all befel: They towards the throne supreme,
 Accountable, made haste, to make appear,
 With righteous plea, their utmost vigilance, 30
 And easily approv'd; when the Most High
 Eternal Father, from his secret cloud,
 Amidst in thunder utter'd thus his voice.

Assembled Angels, and ye Powers return'd
 From unsuccessful charge; be not dismay'd, 35
 Nor troubled at these tidings from the earth,
 Which your sincerest care could not prevent;
 Foretold so lately what would come to pass,
 When first this tempter cross'd the gulf from
 Hell.

I told ye then he should prevail, and speed 40
 On his bad errand; Man should be seduc'd,
 And flatter'd out of all, believing lies
 Against his Maker; no decree of mine
 Concurring to necessitate his fall,

passionate temper: And Mr. Bowle cites, from Spenser's *Daph-*
nida, the following lines:

“ For heavenly Spirits have compassion
 “ On mortal men, and rue their miserie.”

Ver. 40. *I told ye then &c.*] See B. iii. 86—96.

NEWTON.

Ver. 42. ———— *believing lies*

Against his Maker;] Such as Satan had suggested;
 that all things did not proceed from God, that God kept the
 forbidden fruit from them out of envy, &c. NEWTON.

Or touch with lightest moment of impulse 45
 His free will, to her own inclining left
 In even scale. But fall'n he is ; and now
 What rests, but that the mortal sentence pass
 On his transgression,—death denounc'd that day ?
 Which he presumes already vain and void, 50
 Because not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,
 By some immediate stroke ; but soon shall find
 Forbearance no acquittance, ere day end.
 Justice shall not return as bounty scorn'd.
 But whom send I to judge them ? whom but
 thee, 55
 Vicegerent Son ? To thee I have transferr'd
 All judgement, whether in Heaven, or Earth, or
 Hell.

Ver. 45. ——— *with lightest moment of impulse*] The same metaphor, says Dr. Newton, as in B. vi. 239 : where see his note.

Ver. 51. *Because not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,*
By some immediate stroke ;] So, in *Eccles.* viii. 11.
 “ Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily,
 therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil.”

Ver. 53. *Forbearance no acquittance,*] These proverbial expressions are very improper any where in an epic poem ; but much more when they are made to proceed from the mouth of God himself. NEWTON.

Ver. 56. ——— *To thee I have transferr'd*
All judgement,] *John* v. 22. “ For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement unto the Son.” HUME.

Eafy it may be feen that I intend
 Mercy colleague with juftice, fending thee
 Man's friend, his Mediator, his defign'd 60
 Both ranfom and Redeemer voluntary,
 And deftin'd Man himfelf to judge Man fall'n.

So fpake the Father; and, unfolding bright
 Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son
 Blaz'd forth unclouded Deity: He full 65
 Refplendent all his Father manifef
 Exprefs'd, and thus divinely answer'd mild.

Father Eternal, thine is to decree;
 Mine, both in Heaven and Earth, to do thy will
 Supreme; that thou in me, thy Son belov'd, 70

Ver. 58. *Eafy it may be feen*] I follow Dr. Newton in printing it thus after the firft edition. In the fecond, and others, it is “*Eafy it might be feen;*” which is not fo perfpicuous.

Ver. 59. *Mercy colleague with juftice,*] According to *Pfalms* lxxxv. 10. “*Mercy and truth are met together, righteoufnefs and peace have kifs'd each other.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 62. *And deftin'd Man himfelf to judge Man fall'n.*] See *John* v. 27. Dr. Bentley reads *thyfelf*; but *himfelf* is full as well or better. NEWTON.

Mr. Stillingfleet confirms the old reading, by thus interpreting: “*Deftin'd [to become] Man himfelf, i. e. even Man.*” So, in *Matt.* vi. 4. “*Thy Father which feeth in fecret, himfelf fhall reward thee openly,*” i. e. even the Father.

Ver. 68. *Father Eternal, thine is to decree;
 Mine, both in Heaven and Earth, to do thy will*] The form is claffical, as in Euripides, *Ion*, v. 1020.

————— σὸν λέγειν, τολμᾶν δ' ἐμὸν,

but the fpirit of the phrafe is fcriptural; *John* iv. 34. “*My meat is to do the will of HIM that fent me.*”

May'st ever rest well pleas'd. I go to judge
On earth these thy transgressours; but thou
know'st,

Whoever judg'd, the worst on me must light,
When time shall be; for so I undertook
Before thee; and, not repenting, this obtain 75
Of right, that I may mitigate their doom
On me deriv'd; yet I shall temper so
Justice with mercy, as may illustrate most
Them fully satisfied, and thee appease. 79
Attendance none shall need, nor train, where none
Are to behold the judgement, but the judg'd,
Those two; the third best absent is condemn'd,
Convict by flight, and rebel to all law:
Conviction to the serpent none belongs.

Ver. 74. ————— for so I undertook] See B. iii.
236, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 77. ————— I shall temper so
Justice with mercy,] Compare the fine sentiment
in Shakspeare's *Merchant of Venice*, A. iv. S. i.

——“ earthly power doth then show likest God's,
“ When mercy seasons justice.”

Ver. 80. *Attendance none shall need,*] This is either an
elliptical way of speaking for *I shall need no attendance*; or
rather the word *need*, though commonly used as a verb active, is
here used as a verb neuter, and means *no attendance will be*
wanting; and so it is used in B. iii. 340.

“ Then thou thy regal scepter shalt lay by,
“ For regal scepter then no more shall need,
“ God shall be all in all.” NEWTON.

Ver. 84. *Conviction to the serpent none belongs.*] No proof
is needful against the serpent, compelled by Satan to be the

Thus saying, from his radiant seat he rose 85
Of high collateral glory: Him Thrones, and
Powers,

Princedom, and Dominations ministrant,
Accompanied to Heaven-gate; from whence
Eden, and all the coast, in prospect lay. 89
Down he descended straight; the speed of Gods
Time counts not, though with swiftest minutes
wing'd.

Now was the sun in western cadence low
From noon, and gentle airs, due at their hour,
To fan the earth now wak'd, and usher in

ignorant instrument of his malice against mankind; now mute,
and unable to answer for himself. HUME.

Ver. 85. ———— *from his radiant seat he rose*
Of high collateral glory:] So, in Shakspeare, *All's*
Well that ends Well, A. i. S. i.

“ In his bright *radiance* and *collateral* light

“ Must I be comforted, not in his sphere.” STEEVENS.

Ver. 90. ———— *the speed of Gods*
Time counts not,] So Cowley, *Davidicis*, B. i, of
an Angel's flight:

“ Slow Time admires, and knows not what to call

“ The *motion*, having no account so *small*.” BOWLE.

Ver. 92. *Now was the sun in western cadence low*
From noon; and gentle airs, due at their hour,
To fan the earth now wak'd, &c.] This beautiful
description is founded upon this verse: “ And they heard the
voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the
day; and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence
of the Lord God, amongst the trees of the garden,” *Gen.* iii. 8.

NEWTON.

The evening cool ; when he, from wrath more
cool,

93

Came the mild Judge, and Intercessour both,
To sentence Man : The voice of God they heard
Now walking in the garden, by soft winds
Brought to their ears, while day declin'd ; they
heard,

And from his presence hid themselves among 100
The thickest trees, both man and wife ; till God,
Approaching, thus to Adam call'd aloud.

Where art thou, Adam, wont with joy to meet
My coming seen far off ? I miss thee here,
Not pleas'd, thus entertain'd with solitude, 105
Where obvious duty ere while appear'd unfought :
Or come I less conspicuous, or what change
Absents thee, or what chance detains ?—Come
forth !

He came ; and with him Eve, more loth,
though first
To offend ; discountenanc'd both, and discom-
pos'd ;

110

Love was not in their looks, either to God,
Or to each other ; but apparent guilt,

P. Fletcher might have been also in the poet's view, *Purp.
Ifl.* 1633, c. viii. st. 1.

“ When cooler ayers gently ’gan to blow,

“ And fanne the fields, &c.”

Ver. 103. *Where art thou, Adam, &c.*] See *Gen.* iii. 9, &c.
It is curious to observe how the poet paraphrases and enlarges
upon the divine historian. NEWTON.

And shame, and perturbation, and despair,
 Anger, and obstinacy, and hate, and guile.
 Whence Adam, faltering long, thus answer'd
 brief. 115

I heard thee in the garden, and of thy voice
 Afraid, being naked, hid myself. To whom
 The gracious Judge without revile replied.

My voice thou oft hast heard, and hast not
 fear'd,

But still rejoic'd ; how is it now become 120
 So dreadful to thee ? That thou art naked, who
 Hath told thee ? Hast thou eaten of the tree,
 Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat ?

To whom thus Adam fore beset replied.

O Heaven ! in evil strait this day I stand 125
 Before my Judge ; either to undergo
 Myself the total crime, or to accuse
 My other self, the partner of my life ;
 Whose failing, while her faith to me remains,
 I should conceal, and not expose to blame 130
 By my complaint : but strict necessity
 Subdues me, and calamitous constraint ;

Ver. 125. *O Heaven ! in evil strait this day I stand &c.*] Mr. Stillingfleet observes, that nothing shows Milton's judgement more than keeping to the very words of Scripture, as far as possible, in the preceding conference between God and Adam : but the poet thought himself here obliged to deviate from his rule of adhering closely to the sacred text, in order, he imagines, to keep up some dignity in Adam, by putting an apology into his mouth for the accusation that was to follow.

Left on my head both sin and punishment,
 However insupportable, be all
 Devolv'd; though should I hold my peace, yet
 thou 135

Wouldst easily detect what I conceal.—
 This Woman, whom thou mad'st to be my help,
 And gav'st me as thy perfect gift, so good,
 So fit, so acceptable, so divine,
 That from her hand I could suspect no ill, 140
 And what she did, whatever in itself,
 Her doing seem'd to justify the deed;
 She gave me of the tree, and I did eat.

To whom the Sovran Presence thus replied.
 Was she thy God, that her thou didst obey 145
 Before his voice? or was she made thy guide,
 Superiour, or but equal, that to her
 Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
 Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
 And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd 150

Ver. 137. *This Woman, &c.*] Milton still preserves all that is Scripture, though he intermixes other things which were likely enough to have been said and done. Adam speaks of Eve much in the same strain as he had done before to the Angel, B. viii. 549.

————— “ what she wills to do or say
 “ Seems wisest, &c.”

And his unwillingness to accuse his wife, and yet the necessity of doing it, are finely imagined. NEWTON.

Ver. 145. *Was she thy God* — ?] An expostulation suggested perhaps by Scripture, as Mr. Stillingfleet also notes. See *Gen.* xxx. 2, and *II Kings*, v. 7.

Hers in all real dignity ? Adorn'd
 She was indeed, and lovely, to attract
 Thy love, not thy subjection ; and her gifts
 Were such, as under government well seem'd ;
 Unseemly to bear rule ; which was thy part 155
 And person, hadst thou known thyself aright.
 So having said, he thus to Eve in few.

Ver. 151. ————— Adorn'd

She was indeed, and lovely, to attract

Thy love, not thy subjection ;] Dr. Newton ob-

serves, that this is the same sentiment as the Angel had inculcated, B. viii. 568, &c. ; and that, in other parts of his work, Milton seems to have been a strenuous advocate for keeping up the authority of the husband.

I subjoin, from the poet's *Doct. and Discip. of Divorce*, another pointed observation, as a striking proof how determined he had been, from his first *having a wife, to rule a wife !*—"What an injury it is after wedlock &c. to be contented with, in point of house-rule, *who shall be the head* ; not for any parity of wisdom, for that were something reasonable, but out of a female pride ? I suffer not, saith St. Paul, the woman to usurp authority over the man. *If the Apostle could not suffer it, into what mould is he mortified that can ?*"—This was written very soon after his first marriage.

Ver. 155. ————— thy part

And person,] A pure Latinism. The *personæ dramatis*. So Cicero *pro Muren.* c. 2. "Has partes lenitatis et misericordiæ, quas me Natura ipsa docuit, semper ago libenter ; illam verò gravitatis, severitatis, *personam* non appetivi." Milton, in his *Hist. of Eng.* p. 37. edit. Toland, uses the word thus : "If it were an honour to that *person* which he sustained."

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 157. ————— *he thus to Eve in few.]* Words are here understood ; an ellipsis very common both in Greek and Latin, LORD MONBODDO.

Say Woman, what is this which thou hast done?
 To whom sad Eve, with shame nigh over-
 whelm'd,
 Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge 160
 Bold or loquacious, thus abash'd replied.
 The Serpent me beguil'd, and I did eat.
 Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
 To judgement he proceeded on the accus'd
 Serpent, though brute; unable to transfer 165
 The guilt on him, who made him instrument
 Of mischief, and polluted from the end
 Of his creation; justly then accurs'd,
 As vitiated in nature: More to know
 Concern'd not Man, (since he no further knew)

It was also not unusual with our own writers. Thus Shak-
 speare, *K. Hen.* IV. P. ii. A. i. S. i.

“*In few*; his death, whose spirit lent a fire, &c.”

And Warner, *Albion's England*, 1602, p. 40.

“*In few*; the warres are full of woes.”

And even in prose: “*In few*; if a vestall virgine in time of
 gentilisme &c.” A Decacordon of ten Quodlibetical Questions
 &c. 1602, p. 238.

Ver. 158. The question in this, and the reply in verse 162,
 are taken, as Hume and Dr. Newton have observed, from *Gen.*
 iii. 13.

Ver. 169. ————— *More to know*

Concern'd not Man, (since he no further knew) This
 is badly expressed. The meaning is, As Man was not to be let
 into the mysteries of the Redemption at this time, it did not
 concern him to know that the serpent was but the instrument of
 the Devil. When Milton wrote this, I fancy he had it not then
 in his thoughts to make Michael reveal to Adam, in the last
 book, the doctrine of Redemption; or, if he did intend it, he

Nor alter'd his offence ; yet God at last 171
 To Satan first in sin his doom applied,
 Though in mysterious terms, judg'd as then best :
 And on the Serpent thus his curse let fall.

Because thou hast done this, thou art accurs'd
 Above all cattle, each beast of the field ; 176
 Upon thy belly groveling thou shalt go,
 And dust shall eat all the days of thy life.
 Between thee and the woman I will put
 Enmity, and between thine and her seed ; 180
 Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.

So spake this oracle, then verified
 When Jesus, Son of Mary, second Eve,

forgot that a theological comment on these words in *Genesis* would ill agree with what was to follow. WARBURTON.

Ver. 175. *Because thou hast done this, &c.*] See *Gen.* iii. 14, 15. Milton was certainly here more in the right than ever in adhering religiously to Scripture, though he has thereby spoiled the harmony of his verse. He thought, without doubt, that, to mix any thing of his own, would be a violation of decency, and a profanation, like that of Uzzah's putting forth his hand to the ark of God. And the sentence is very well explained by him, that it was pronounced immediately upon the serpent as *made the instrument of mischief and vitiated in nature*, but is to be *applied* immediately to Satan, the old Serpent, *though in mysterious terms* : And as the author explains how the sentence was to be understood before he relates it, so he shows afterwards how it was fulfilled. NEWTON.

Ver. 182. ——— oracle, then verified

When Jesus, Son of Mary, &c.] Here is a manifest indication, That, when Milton wrote this passage, he thought *Paradise* was chiefly *regained* at our Saviour's resurrection. This would have been a copious and sublime subject for a second poem. The wonders, then to be described, would have

Saw Satan fall, like lightning, down from Heaven,
 Prince of the air; then, rising from his grave, 185
 Spoil'd Principalities and Powers, triumph'd
 In open show; and, with ascension bright,
 Captivity led captive through the air,
 The realm itself of Satan, long usurp'd;
 Whom he shall tread at last under our feet; 190
 Ev'n he, who now foretold his fatal bruise;
 And to the Woman thus his sentence turn'd.

erected even an ordinary poet's genius; and, in episodes, he might have introduced his conception, birth, miracles, and all the history of his administration, while on earth. And I much grieve, that, instead of this, he should choose for the argument of his *Paradise Regained* the fourth chapter of Luke, *the temptation in the wilderness*; a dry, barren, and narrow ground, to build an epic poem on. In that work he has amplified his scanty materials to a surprizing dignity; but yet, being cramped down by a wrong choice, without the expected applause. BENILEY.

Ver. 184. *Saw Satan fall, like lightning, &c.*] In this speech are many allusions to Scripture, which Hume and Dr. Newton have noticed; as particularly to *Luke* x. 18, in ver. 184; to *Ephes.* ii. 2, in calling Satan *Prince of the air*; to *Col.* ii. 15, in ver. 186; to *Psal.* lxxviii. 18, and *Ephes.* iv. 8, in the two following verses; and to *Rom.* xvi. 20, in ver. 190.

Possibly by *the realm of Satan*, in v. 189, the poet alludes also to *Ephes.* vi. 12, where the ministers of this kingdom are expressly mentioned; "the Principalities, the Powers, the Rulers of the darkness of this world, the *wicked Spirits* [as the Greek is rendered in the margin] in high places." The opinion that the air was *ruled by devils*, seems to have obtained also among the Jewish and Heathen writers. See more on this subject, in Burton's *Anat. of Melancholy*, part i. sect. 2. subsect. 2.

Ver. 192. *And to the Woman &c.*] Milton is exact in reporting the sentences pronounced on our first parents. See *Gen.* iii. 16, 17, 18, 19. NEWTON.

Thy sorrow I will greatly multiply
 By thy conception ; children thou shalt bring
 In sorrow forth ; and to thy husband's will 195
 Thine shall submit ; he over thee shall rule.

On Adam last thus judgement he pronounc'd.
 Because thou hast hearken'd to the voice of thy
 wife,

And eaten of the tree, concerning which 199
 I charg'd thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat thereof :
 Curs'd is the ground for thy sake ; thou in sorrow
 Shalt eat thereof, all the days of thy life ;
 Thorns also and thistles it shall bring thee forth
 Unbid ; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field ;
 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, 205
 Till thou return unto the ground ; for thou
 Out of the ground wast taken, know thy birth,
 For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return.

So judg'd he Man, both Judge and Saviour
 sent ;

And the instant stroke of death, denounc'd that
 day, 210

Remov'd far off ; then, pitying how they stood
 Before him naked to the air, that now
 Must suffer change, disdain'd not to begin
 Thenceforth the form of servant to assume ;
 As when he wash'd his servants feet ; so now, 215

Ver. 214. ——— *the form of servant to assume ;*] *Phil.* ii. 7.
 " But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form
 of a servant." *As when he wash'd his servants feet,* *John* xiii. 5.

HUME.

As father of his family, he clad
 Their nakedness with skins of beasts, or slain,
 Or as the snake with youthful coat repaid;
 And thought not much to clothe his enemies:
 Nor he their outward ~~only~~ with the skins 220
 Of beasts, but inward nakedness, much more

Ver. 216. ————— *he clad*

Their nakedness with skins of beasts,] “Unto Adam also, and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them,” *Gen. iii. 21.* And Milton, we see, understands it literally, though it is sufficient if it was done by the divine providence and direction. But some commentators torment themselves, and the text, by asking how Adam and Eve came by the skins of beasts; and therefore our author adds they were *either slain*, but he does not say whether by one another, or for sacrifice, or for food; or *they shed their coats like snakes, and were repaid with new ones*, a notion which we may presume he borrowed from some commentator rather than advanc’d of himself. It seems too odd and extravagant to be a fancy of his own, but he might introduce it out of vanity to show his reading. Pliny indeed mentions some lesser creatures shedding their skins in the manner of snakes, but that is hardly authority sufficient for such a notion as this. NEWTON.

Ver. 219. *And thought not much to clothe his enemies;]* Dr. Bentley says that this line is certainly of the editor’s manufacture, and quite superfluous; because it divides what is naturally connected, and changes the sentiments, from a *family* under a gracious *father*, to the condition of *enemies*. But I don’t see that it divides any natural connexion: and, as for changing the sentiments, it does it to a beauty, not to a fault: for it shows more goodness in a man to clothe his enemy, than only one of his family. Milton seems to have had in his thoughts what St. Paul says, *Rom. v. 10.* “*When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son.*” Milton again had much of the same sentiment, when he makes Adam say, in ver. 1059, “*Cloth’d us unworthy.*” PEARCE.

Opprobrious, with his robe of righteousness,
 Arraying, cover'd from his Father's sight.
 To him with swift ascent he up return'd,
 Into his blissful bosom reassum'd 225
 In glory, as of old; to him appears'd
 All, though all-knowing, what had pass'd with
 Man

Recounted, mixing intercession sweet.

Mean while, ere thus was sinn'd and judg'd on
 Earth,

Within the gates of Hell sat Sin and Death, 230
 In counterview within the gates, that now
 Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame

Ver. 222. ——— with his robe of righteousness,
Arraying, cover'd from his Father's sight.] *Isaiah*,
 lxi. 10. "He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation,
 he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness." NEWTON.

Perhaps there is here an allusion also to *Ezekiel*, speaking of
 God's love towards Jerusalem, xvi. 8, "I spread my skirt over
 thee, and covered thy nakedness."

Ver. 229. *Mean while, ere thus was sinn'd and judg'd*] Two
 Impersonals: *Before* Man had thus sinned, and God had thus
 judg'd him, Sin and Death sat in counterview within the gates
 of Hell; but *now*, upon Man's transgression and God's judge-
 ment, Sin *thus began* and address'd herself to *Death*.

"O Son, why sit we here &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 232. ——— belching outrageous flame] *Spenser*,
Faer. Qu. i. xi. 44.

"As burning Ætna from his boyling stew

"Doth belch out flames."

See also before, B. i. 671.

Far into Chaos, since the Fiend pass'd through,
Sin opening ; who thus now to Death began.

O Son, why sit we here each other viewing 235
Idly, while Satan, our great author, thrives
In other worlds, and happier feat provides
For us, his offspring dear ? It cannot be
But that success attends him ; if mishap,
Ere this he had return'd, with fury driven 240
By his avengers ; since no place like this
Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.
Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,
Wings growing, and dominion given me large
Beyond this deep ; whatever draws me on, 245
Or sympathy, or some connatural force,
Powerful at greatest distance to unite,
With secret amity, things of like kind,
By secretest conveyance. Thou, my shade

Ver. 245. ———— *whatever draws me on,*

Or sympathy, or some connatural force,] The modern philosopher may perhaps take offence at this now exploded notion ; but every friend to the Muses will, I doubt not, pardon it for the sake of that fine strain of poetry, which it has given the poet an opportunity of introducing in the following description. THYER.

Ver. 249. *Thou, my shade*] We sometimes find *shade* used much after the same manner in the best classic authors, as in Horace, *Sat.* II. viii. 22.

——— “ quos Mæcenas adduxerat *umbras*.”

But it has a farther propriety and beauty in this place, as Death *seem'd a shadow*, B. ii. 669, and was the inseparable companion, as well as the offspring, of Sin. NEWTON.

Inseparable, must with me along : 250
 For Death from Sin no power can separate.
 But, lest the difficulty of passing back
 Stay his return perhaps over this gulf
 Impassable, impervious ; let us try
 Adventurous work, yet to thy power and mine
 Not unagreeable, to found a path 256
 Over this main from Hell to that new world,
 Where Satan now prevails ; a monument
 Of merit high to all the infernal host,
 Easing their passage hence, for intercourse, 260
 Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.
 Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn
 By this new-felt attraction and instinct.
 Whom thus the meager Shadow answer'd soon.
 Go, whither Fate, and inclination strong, 265

In a sacred drama written by the elder Cicognini, entitled
Il Gran Natale di Christo, Death says to Sin,

“ Ed io, che un' ombra sono

“ Pronta ti seguo, come l' ombra il corpo.”

Dr. Burney's Hist. of Musick, vol. iv. p. 95.

In this drama, it is added by the learned historian, Lucifer resembles, in his daring language and impious sentiments, the Satan of Milton : Lucifer, rising from the infernal regions, speaks the prologue ; and Human Nature, personified, opens the first act with a speech much resembling that of Adam at the end of the tenth book of *Paradise Lost* : Sin and Death are likewise personified, and speak Miltonick sentiments.

Ver. 260. ————— for intercourse,

Or transmigration,] *Intercourse*, passing frequently backward and forward ; *transmigration*, quitting Hell once for all to inhabit the new creation : They were uncertain which their lot should be. RICHARDSON.

Leads thee ; I shall not lag behind, nor err
 The way, thou leading ; such a scent I draw
 Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste
 The favour of death from all things there that live :
 Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest 270
 Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid.
 So saying, with delight he snuff'd the smell
 Of mortal change on earth. As when a flock
 Of ravenous fowl, though many a league remote,

Ver. 266. ————— nor err

The way,] Nor mistake the way ; a remarkable expression. NEWTON.

Ver. 267. ————— *such a scent I draw*

Of carnage,] Compare the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, v. 246, to which Mr. Stillingfleet also refers :

Οὐδ' αἱματὶνὸν πνεῦμ' ἐπουρίσασα τῶ
 Ἀτμῷ κατισχνάινουσα νιδύος πυρί.

Ver. 273. ————— *As when a flock*

Of ravenous fowl, &c.] Dr. Newton thinks, that Lucan's description of the ravenous birds that followed the Roman camp, and scented the battle of Pharſalia, gave occasion to Milton's simile : See *Pharſal.* viii. 831. Possibly the following passage, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush*, might have been now in Milton's mind :

————— " 'tis said of vultures,
 " They scent a field fought ; and do smell the carcases
 " By many hundred miles."

Mr. Bowle here cites, from *Froissart*, the account given of the ravens which appeared, hovering over both armies, at the battle of Cressy ; and thinks that Milton might allude to part of Cassius's speech in *Julius Cæsar*,

————— " Ravens, crows, and kites,
 " Fly o'er our heads, and downward look on us
 " As we were sickly prey."

Against the day of battle, to a field, 275
 Where armies lie encamp'd, come flying, lur'd
 With scent of living carcases design'd
 For death, the following day, in bloody fight :
 So scented the grim Feature, and upturn'd
 His nostril wide into the murky air ; 280
 Sagacious of his quarry from so far.
 Then both from out Hell-gates, into the waste
 Wide anarchy of Chaos, damp and dark,
 Flew diverse ; and with power (their power was
 great)
 Hovering upon the waters, what they met 285
 Solid or slimy, as in raging sea
 Toft up and down, together crouded drove,
 From each side shoaling towards the mouth of
 Hell :

Ver. 279. ————— and upturn'd

His nostril wide into the murky air ;] Hume and
 Dr. Newton here quote from Virgil, *Georg.* i. 376.

—————“ et patulis captavit naribus auras.”

They also observe, that “ *mirkfome* air” is a phrase in Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. v. 28 ; where *mirkfome* signifies *infected* or *tainted*. Dr. Newton also adds, from *Macbeth*, “ Hell is *murky* ;” where *murky* means *dark*. Minshew gives this interpretation of *mirke*, in his *Guide into Tongues*. And Chaucer applies the word to the moon eclipsed, *RR.* 5339.

Milton's expression may remind the reader of “ the fog and *filthy* air” through which the weird sisters in *Macbeth* “ hover.”

Ver. 281. *Sagacious*] Quick of scent. “ *Sagire* enim, sentire acutè est ; ex quo *sagaces* dicti canes,” *Cic. de Div.* l. iv. A fit comparison for the *chief hell-bound*. HUME.

As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
 Upon the Cronian sea, together drive 290
 Mountains of ice, that stop the imagin'd way
 Beyond Petfora eastward, to the rich
 Cathaian coast. The aggregated foil
 Death with his mace petrifick, cold and dry,
 As with a trident, smote; and fix'd as firm 295
 As Delos, floating once; the rest his look

Ver. 289. *As when two polar winds, &c.*] Sin and Death, flying into different parts of Chaos, and driving all the matter they meet with there in shoals towards the mouth of Hell, are compared to *two polar winds*, north and south, *blowing adverse upon the Cronian sea*, the northern frozen sea, ("A Thule unius diei navigatione mare concretum a nonnullis Cronium appellatur." Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. 4. cap. 16.) and *driving together mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way*, the north-east passage as it is called, which so many have attempted to discover, *Beyond Petfora eastward*, the most north-eastern province of Muscovy, *to the rich Cathaian coast*, Cathay or Catay, a country of Asia and the northern part of China. NEWTON.

Ver. 294. *Death with his mace petrifick,*] So, in the *Tragedie of Dido*, by Marlowe and Nash, 1594, Æneas speaks;

"A wofull tale bids Dido to vnfold,
 "Whose memorie, like pale death's stony mace,
 "Beates forth my senses from this troubled soule,
 "And makes Æneas sink at Didos feete."

Mace, it should be observed, is the old word for *scepter*; and is often given to *Death*, in our old poetry. Thus, again, in the *Historie of Sir Clyomon, &c.* 1599.

"Ah! *Death*, come with thy direfull mace."

Ver. 296. *As Delos, floating once;*] An island in the Archipelago, said to have floated about the sea, till it became the birth-place of Apollo. Callimachus, in his hymn called *Delos*, has given a most enchanting description of this matter.

RICHARDSON.

Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move;
And with Asphaltick slime, broad as the gate,

Ibid. ————— *the rest his look &c.*] In Milton's own editions the passage was thus,

—————" the rest his look

" Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move,

" And with Asphaltick slime; broad as the gate,

" Deep to the roots of Hell the gather'd beach

" They fallen'd," —————

A difficult passage; which Dr. Bentley perceived and tried to mend thus,

" As Delos *now*, once floating: *then* his look

" *The* fabrick with Gorgonian *power fast* bound,

" *As* with Asphaltick slime. Broad as the gate, &c."

But he did not observe, that Milton by the words *the rest* meant those substances which were not *solid* or *soil*, but were soft and *slimy*, ver. 286. And Death is here described as not binding fast the fabrick (the foundation of that was yet but laying) but as hardening the soft and *slimy* substances, and fixing them (like the *soil*) for the foundation of his bridge. To *Gorgonian rigour*, the doctor objects that the *rigour* or hardness was not in the Gorgon's look, but in the object turned into stone. And so it may be understood here—a *rigour* such as was caused by the Gorgon's look. Milton has the authority of Claudian for expressing himself thus,—"*rigidâ cum Gorgone Perseus.*" In Ruffin. I. 279.

Again, the doctor objects to *And with Asphaltick slime*, because then the construction would be, his *look* bound it with *slime*. I agree with him that this could not come from Milton. But then I think the doctor's change of *And* into *As* does not sufficiently mend the passage; for does it not lessen the thought to say, that it was bound with *Gorgonian power* as with *slime*? even *Asphaltick slime* had not that binding power, which fable supposes *the Gorgon's look* to have had.

Thus I can see that neither the common reading nor the doctor's are free from great exceptions. There is only one way

Deep to the roots of Hell the gather'd beach
They fasten'd, and the mole immense wrought
on 300
Over the foaming deep high-arch'd, a bridge
Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
Immoveable of this now fenceless world,

(I think) in which all these difficulties are to be got over, and that is by changing two of the points in the passage, and reading thus :

" Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move.
 " And with Asphaltick slime, broad as the gate,
 " Deep to the roots of Hell, the gather'd beach
 " They fasten'd,"———

The first part of the passage, ending at *move*, I understand as relating only to the hardening the soft and slimy substances : and all the rest seems to relate to the fastening the foundation with *Asphaltick slime* to the roots of Hell. I may be mistaken in my conjecture ; but this reading (methinks) bids fairer for the true one, than either of the other two. PEARCE.

It appears, that by *the rest* we are to understand the *slimy* parts, as distinguished from the *solid* or *soil*: and it would be very absurd to say, that his look bound the slimy parts *with Asphaltick slime* or *as with Asphaltick slime*. It is much easier to suppose, with Mr. Richardson, that the comma after *move*, and the semicolon after *slime*, have changed places, and that the passage should be read thus

the rest his look
 " Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move ;
 " And with Asphaltick slime, broad as the gate,
 " Deep to the roots of Hell &c."

The sense is then the very same as in the foregoing most excellent remark of Dr. Pearce's, and we venture to print it accordingly. NEWTON.

Forfeit to Death ; from hence a passage broad,
 Smooth, easy, inoffensive, down to Hell. 305
 So, if great things to small may be compar'd,
 Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
 From Susa, his Memnonian palace high,
 Came to the sea ; and, over Hellespont
 Bridging his way, Europe with Asia join'd, 310
 And scourg'd with many a stroke the indignant
 waves.

Ver. 304. ——— from hence a passage broad,
Smooth, easy, inoffensive, down to Hell.] Alluding
 perhaps to Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 126. “*Facilis descensus Averni.*”
 Or to the paths of wickedness, Hesiod *Op. et Dies*, v. 285.

Τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ Ἰλαδὸν ἐστὶν εἰσοῦσαι

Ῥηϊδίως· εὐρίχη μὲν ὁδοί, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει. JORTIN.

“ Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to
 destruction,” *Matt.* vii. 13. GREENWOOD.

Ver. 305. ——— *inoffensive,*] Un-obstructed. Mr.
 Stillingfleet notes the same Latin idiom, in *B.* viii. 164 ; the
 Earth’s “*inoffensive* pace.”

Ver. 306. *So, Xerxes, &c.*] This simile is very exact and
 beautiful. As Sin and Death built a bridge over Chaos to
 subdue and enslave mankind : So Xerxes, to bring the free states
 of Greece under his yoke, *came from Susa*, the residence of the
 Persian monarchs, called *Memnonia* by Herodotus ; and, building
 a bridge over Hellespont, the narrow sea by Constantinople, that
 divides Europe from Asia, to march his large army over it,
Europe with Asia join'd, and scourg'd with many a stroke the
indignant waves ; alluding to the madness of Xerxes in ordering
 the sea to be whipt for the loss of some of his ships ; *indignant*
waves, scorning and raging to be so confined, as Virgil says, *Æn.*
viii. 728. “*Pontem indignatus Araxes.*” And *Georg.* ii. 162.

“*Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor.*”

NEWTON.

Now had they brought the work by wonderous
art
Pontifical, a ridge of pendant rock,

Ver. 312. ————— by wonderous art

Pontifical,] By the strange art of raising bridges. Pontifex, the high priest of the Romans, had that name from *pons* a bridge and *facere* to make: "Quia sublicius pons a pontificibus factus est primum, et restitutus sæpè," according to Varro. HUME.

Art pontifical is a very bad expression to signify the art of building bridges; and yet, to suppose a pun, would be worse; as if the Roman priesthood were as ready to make the way easy to Hell, as Sin and Death did. WARBURTON.

Mr. Warton, in his *Observations on Spenser*, noticing that the word *munificence* has been injudiciously coined by Spenser, in order to denote defence or fortification, from *munio* and *facio*; considers Milton as perhaps more blameable for the similar fault of "art pontifical." As the ambiguous term *pontifical* may be so easily construed into a pun, and may be interpreted *popish*, as well as *bridge-making*. Dr. Johnson thinks that Milton employed the word as an equivocal satire on *popery*.

Ver. 317. *From out of Chaos, to the outside bare*] In Milton's own editions the verses are thus,

"Of Satan, to the self same place where he
First lighted from his wing, and landed safe
From out of Chaos to the outside bare &c."

Is not here a false print? and is it not properer to read *landed safe on the outside bare of this round world* than *landed safe to the outside*? Or rather is not here another instance of false pointing? and should not the comma after Satan be omitted, and inserted after *Chaos*? and is not this the construction of the whole passage? *Now had they brought the work—over the vex'd abyss—to the outside bare of this round world, following the track of Satan to the self-same place where he first lighted from his wing, and landed safe from out of Chaos.* We venture to print

Over the vex'd abyfs, following the track
 Of Satan to the felf-fame place where he 315
 Firft lighted from his wing, and landed fafe
 From out of Chaos, to the outside bare
 Of this round world: With pins of adamant
 And chains they made all faft, too faft they made
 And durable! And now in little fpace 320
 The confines met of empyréan Heaven,
 And of this World; and, on the left hand, 'Hell
 With long reach interpos'd; three feveral ways
 In fight, to each of thefe three places led. 324
 And now their way to Earth they had defcried,
 To Paradife firft tending; when, behold!
 Satan, in likenefs of an Angel bright,
 Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion fteering
 His zenith, while the fun in Aries rofe: 329

it accordingly, not knowing well how to make fenfe and grammar of it otherwife. NEWTON.

Ver. 328. *Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion fteering*

His zenith, while the fun in Aries rofe:] Alluding to a fhip fteering her courfe betwixt two iflands: So Satan directed his way between thefe two figns of the zodiack upwards: the zenith is overhead. RICHARDSON.

Dr. Bentley puts a comma after *fteering*; but there fhould be none; for the fenfe is, *fteering to his zenith*, or upwards, towards the outside of this round world, from whence he had come down, ver. 317. Befides the doctor, inftead of *rofe*, reads *rode*: but it was *evening*, when Meffiah came and paffed the fentence on the transgreffours, ver. 92; and after that *Sin* and *Death* made the bridge; fo that the fun might be *rifing* in Aries, when they met *Satan fteering his zenith*. And this is confirmed by what follows here in ver. 341, &c. PEARCE.

Disguis'd he came ; but those his children dear
 Their parent soon discern'd, though in disguise.
 He, after Eve seduc'd, unminded slunk
 Into the wood fast by ; and, changing shape,
 To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act
 By Eve, though all unweeting, seconded 335
 Upon her husband ; saw their shame that fought
 Vain covertures ; but when he saw descend
 The Son of God to judge them, terrified
 He fled ; not hoping to escape, but shun
 The present ; fearing, guilty, what his wrath 340
 Might suddenly inflict ; that past, return'd
 By night, and listening where the hapless pair
 Sat in their sad discourse, and various plaint,
 Thence gather'd his own doom ; which under-
 stood
 Not instant, but of future time, with joy 345

Satan to avoid being discovered (as he had been before, B. iv. 569, &c.) by Uriel regent of the sun, takes care to keep at as great a distance as possible, and therefore *while the sun rose in Aries*, he steers his course directly upwards *betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion*, two constellations which lay in a quite different part of the Heavens from Aries. NEWTON.

Ver. 344. ————— *which understood*

Not instant, but of future time, with joy &c.] In Milton's own editions, and in all the rest which I have seen till Mr. Fenton's and Dr. Bentley's, it was falsely printed thus,

————— " which understood

" Not instant, but of future time. With joy &c."

But the sense evidently shows, that the sentence should be continued : From their discourse Satan *gather'd his own doom, which*

And tidings fraught, to Hell he now return'd ;
 And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
 Of this new wonderous pontifice, unhop'd
 Met, who to meet him came, his offspring dear.
 Great joy was at their meeting, and at sight 350
 Of that stupendous bridge his joy encreas'd.
 Long he admiring stood, till Sin, his fair
 Enchanting daughter, thus the silence broke.

O Parent, these are thy magnifick deeds,
 Thy trophies ! which thou view'st as not thine
 own ; 355

Thou art their author, and prime architect :
 For I no sooner in my heart divin'd,
 My heart, which by a secret harmony
 Still moves with thine, join'd in connexion sweet,
 That thou on earth hadst prosper'd, which thy
 looks 360

Now also evidence, but straight I felt,
 Though distant from thee worlds between, yet
 felt,

That I must after thee, with this thy son ;
 Such fatal consequence unites us three !

*being understood not instant, but of future time, he now return'd
 with joy to Hell. NEWTON.*

Tickell must be exempted from doctor Newton's censure ; for
 he, and not Fenton, first made the emendation of the pointing.

Ver. 345. ————— *with joy*

And tidings fraught,] That is, with joyful
 tidings. So Virgil, "*Munera lætitiæque Dei*," *Æn.* I. 636,
 for *munera læta*. RICHARDSON.

' Hell could no longer hold us in our bounds, 365
 Nor this unvoyageable gulf obscure
 Detain from following thy illustrious track.
 Thou hast achiev'd our liberty, confin'd
 Within Hell-gates till now ; thou us impower'd
 To fortify thus far, and overlay, 370
 With this portentous bridge, the dark abyfs.
 Thine now is all this world ; thy virtue hath won
 What thy hands builded not ; thy wisdom gain'd
 With odds what war hath loft, and fully aveng'd
 Our foil in Heaven ; here thou shalt monarch
 reign, 375
 There didst not ; there let him still victor sway,
 As battle hath adjudg'd ; from this new world
 Retiring, by his own doom alienated ;
 And henceforth monarchy with thee divide
 Of all things, parted by the empyreal bounds, 380
 His quadrature, from thy orbicular world ;

Ver. 368. *Thou hast achiev'd our liberty, confin'd
 Within Hell-gates till now ;—*] What, *liberty
 confin'd in Hell?* a mere contradiction, says Dr. Bentley. He
 therefore reads *Us*, us confin'd till now in Hell. But *our* is the
 same as *of us* : and Milton means, the liberty of us confin'd till
 now in Hell. See more instances of this, B. iv. 129, B. viii.
 423, and B. ix. 908. PEARCE.

Ver. 381. *His quadrature, from thy orbicular world ;*] The
 world is *orbicular* or *round* ; the empyreal Heaven is a *quadrature*
 or *square*. Milton had before said, that it was *undetermin'd
 square or round*, B. ii. 1048 ; and so it might be to Satan view-
 ing it at that distance : But here he follows the opinion of Gas-
 sendus and others, who say that the Empyreum, or Heaven of
 Heavens, is of a *square figure*, because the holy city is so de-

Or try thee now more dangerous to his throne.

Whom thus the Prince of darkness answer'd
glad.

Fair Daughter, and thou Son and Grandchild both;

High proof ye now have given to be the race 385

Of Satan, (for I glory in the name,

Antagonist of Heaven's Almighty King,)

Amply have merited of me, of all

The infernal empire, that so near Heaven's door

Triumphal with triumphal act have met, 390

Mine, with this glorious work; and made one
realm,

Hell and this world, one realm, one continent

scribed: "And the city lieth *four-square*, and the length is as large as the breadth," *Rev.* xxi. 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 383. ———— *the Prince of darkness*] Hume and Dr. Newton observe, that Satan may be properly so called; since his Angels are styled, in Scripture, *Rulers of the darknesses of this world*, *Ephes.* vi. 12.—But, the title of the *Prince of darkness* was not coined by Milton. For thus, in the old *Tragédie of Alexander the Sixth or the Devil's Charter*,

"I charge thee by the four recited names, &c.

"By which the *Prince of darkness*, and all Powers

"In earth and hell, doe tremble and fall downe, &c."

So Edgar, speaking of foul fiends, mentions expressly "the *Prince of darkness*," *King Lear*, A. iii. S. iv. And the Devil is called "the apostate *Prince of Darkness*," in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 14.

Ver. 391. ———— *and made one realm,*

Hell and this world, one realm, one continent] This is the general reading; but Fenton and Dr. Bentley have both, in the second line, very absurdly printed "*our* realm," though the doctor places *one* in the margin, as if it were a conjecture of his own. NEWTON.

Of easy thorough-fare. Therefore, while I
Descend through darkness, on your road with
ease,

To my associate Powers, them to acquaint 395
With these successes, and with them rejoice;
You two this way, among these numerous orbs,
All yours, right down to Paradise descend;
There dwell, and reign in bliss; thence on the
earth

Dominion exercise and in the air, 400
Chiefly on Man, sole lord of all declar'd;
Him first make sure your thrall, and lastly kill.
My substitutes I send ye, and create
Plenipotent on earth, of matchless might
Issuing from me: on your joint vigour now 405
My hold of this new kingdom all depends,
Through Sin to Death expos'd by my exploit.
If your joint power prevail, the affairs of Hell
No detriment need fear; go, and be strong!

Fenton and Bentley were preceded in this mistake, by Tickell; who also reads "*our realm*." The error may be observed in several later editions.

Ver. 397. ———— these *numerous orbs*,] In the first edition, *those*.

Ver. 408. ———— *prevail*,] So it is in the first edition: in the second it is *prevails*. NEWTON.

Ver. 409. No detriment *need fear*;] Hume and Mr. Thyer observe, that Milton here alludes to the charge, given by the Roman senate to the supreme magistrate, in times of danger—
" *Providere nequid respublica detrimenti accipiat*."

So saying he dismiss'd them; they with speed 410
 Their course through thickest constellations held,
 Spreading their bane; the blasted stars look'd wan,

Ibid. ————— *go, and be strong!*] Satan encourages Sin and Death in much the same words as Moses encourages Joshua, *Deut.* xxxi. 7, 8. NEWTON.

Ver. 412. *Spreading their bane*;] Ovid's description of the journey of Envy to Athens, and Milton's of Sin and Death to Paradise, have a great resemblance. But whatever Milton imitates, he adds a greatness to it; as, in this place, he alters Ovid's flowers, herbs, people, and cities, to stars, planets, and worlds. Ovid. *Met.* ii. 793.

" Quacumque ingreditur, florentia proterit arva,
 " Exuritque herbas, et summa cacumina carpit;
 " Assatúque suo populos, urbésque, domósque,
 " Polluit."

See *An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients*, p. 42.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *the blasted stars look'd wan, &c.*] Much in the same manner Marino describes his Jealousy falling out into the world, *Adon.* c. xii. st. 29.

" Tosto che fuor de la spelonca oscura
 " Uscì quel fozzo vomito d' Inferno,
 " Sentiro i fiori intorno, e la verdura
 " Fiati di peste, et aliti d' Auerno.
 " Poria col ciglio instupidir Natura,
 " Inhorridire il bel pianeta eterno,
 " Intorbidar le stelle, e gli elementi."

So Tasso, speaking of Alecto, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. st. i.

" Si parte, e doue passa i campi lieti
 " Secca, e pallido il sol si fà repente." THYER.

So, in P. Fletcher's *Locusts*, 1627, p. 58, on the Devils falling out from Hell into the world, it is observed, that, in consequence,

And planets, planet-struck, real eclipse
 Then suffer'd. The other way Satan went down
 The caufey to Hell-gate : On either side 415
 Disparted Chaos over built exclaim'd,
 And with rebounding furge the bars assail'd,
 That scorn'd his indignation : Through the gate,
 Wide open and unguarded, Satan pass'd,
 And all about found desolate ; for those, 420
 Appointed to sit there, had left their charge,
 Flown to the upper world ; the rest were all

“ Heaven shuts his eyes ;
 “ *The starres looke pale ;* and early morning's ray
 “ *Layes downe her head againe, and dares not rise.*”

Compare also another passage in Tasso, where Armida invokes the Devils, c. xvi. st. 67.

“ in un momento
 “ *Impallidisce il gran pianeta eterno.*”

Ver. 413. *And planets, planet-struck,*] We say of a thing when it is blasted and withered, that it is *planet-struck* ; and *that* is now applied to the planets themselves. And what a sublime idea doth it give us of the devastations of Sin and Death ! NEWTON.

Ver. 415. *The caufey to Hell-gate :*] In the Comedy of *Lingua*, 1607, A. v. S. vii. Tactus, directing Appetitus to *hell*, observes

“ 'Tis a wide *caufie* that conducteth thither,
 “ An easie tract, and *downe hill* all the way.”

Ver. 417. *And with rebounding furge the bars assail'd,*
That scorn'd his indignation :] Virgil, *Georg.*

ii. 161.

“ *Lucrinóque addita claustra :*
 “ *Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor.*”

NEWTON.

Far to the inland retir'd, about the walls
 Of Pandemonium; city and proud seat
 Of Lucifer, so by allusion call'd 425
 Of that bright star to Satan paragon'd;
 There kept their watch the legions, while the
 Grand

In council sat, solicitous what chance
 Might intercept their emperour sent; so he
 Departing gave command, and they observ'd. 430
 As when the Tartar from his Russian foe,
 By Astracan, over the snowy plains,

Ver. 426. ————— to 'Satan paragon'd;] Of the
 French *paragonner*, to be equal, to be like. HUMPH.

It had been common in English poetry. Thus, in Shakspeare,
Othello, A. ii. S. i.

“ That *paragons* description and wild fame.”

And in Drummond's *Poems*, 1616, part 2d.

“ To make thy body *paragone* thy minde.”

Ver. 427. ————— while the Grand
In council sat,] Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. i. st. 20.*

“ *I Grandi dell' esercito si uniro*

“ *Glorioso senato in di solenne.*”

Ver. 421. Appointed to sit there,] This appointment is
 tacitly implied in Satan's speech, B. ii. 839, 840. BOWLE.

Ver. 432. By Astracan, &c.] A considerable part of the
 Czar's dominion, formerly a Tartarian kingdom, with a capital
 city of the same name, near the mouth of the river Volga, at
 its fall into the Caspian sea; or *Bactrian Sophi*, the Persian em-
 perour, named of *Bactria*, one of the greatest and richest pro-
 vinces of Persia; from the horns of Turkish crescent, his Turkish
 enemies, who bear the crescent in their ensigns; leaves all waste

Retires ; or Bactrian Sophi, from the horns
 Of Turkish crescent, leaves all waste beyond
 The realm of Aladule, in his retreat 435
 To Tauris or Casbeen : So these, the late
 Heaven-banish'd host, left desert utmost Hell
 Many a dark league, reduc'd in careful watch
 Round their metropolis ; and now expecting
 Each hour their great adventurer, from the search
 Of foreign worlds : He through the midst un-
 mark'd, 441

beyond the realm of Aladule, the Greater Armenia, called Aladule of its last king Aladules, slain by Selymus the first, in his retreat to Tauris, a great city of Persia, now called Ecbatana, sometime in the hands of the Turks, but retaken in 1603 by Abas king of Persia ; or Casbeen, one of the greatest cities of Persia, towards the Caspian sea, where the Persian monarchs made their residence after the loss of Tauris, from which it is distant sixty-five German miles to the south-east. HUME.

Ver. 433. ——— *or Bactrian Sophi, from the horns
 Of Turkish crescent,*] Dr. Bentley says, Better
 thus ;

———“ *or Bactrian Sophi fled from th' horns &c.*”

But *from* is often used by Milton without expressing the participle, which yet is to be supplied in the sense. See B. ii. 542, B. viii. 213, and B. ix. 396. PEARCE.

Ver. 441. ———— *He through the midst unmark'd, &c.*] This account of Satan's passing unmarked through the midst of the Angels, and ascending his throne invisible ; and seeing there about him, himself unseen ; and then bursting forth, as from a cloud, in glory ; seems to be copied from a like adventure of Æneas, Virg. *Æn.* i. 439.

“ *Inferit se septus nebula, mirabile dictu,*

“ *Per medios, miscetque viris ; neque cernitur ulli.*—

In show plebeian Angel militant
 Of lowest order, pass'd; and from the door
 Of that Plutonian hall, invisible
 Ascended his high throne; which, under state 445
 Of richest texture spread, at the upper end
 Was plac'd in regal lustre. Down a while
 He sat, and round about him saw, unseen:
 At last, as from a cloud, his fulgent head 449
 And shape star-bright appear'd, or brighter; clad

“ Dissimulant; et nube cavâ speculantur amicti—

“ Vix ea fatus erat, quum circumfusa repente

“ Scindit se nubes, et in æthera purgat apertum.

“ Restitit Æneas, clarâque in luce refulsit,

“ Os humerósque deo similis.” NEWTON.

Pope has observed, that Virgil here imitates the adventure of Ulysses in the seventh *Odyssey*. Milton has improved upon both.

Ver. 445. ————— under state

Of richest texture [spread,] Under a canopy of
 richest texture: for so the word *state* was formerly understood.
 See Mr. Warton's note on *Arcades*, v. 81.

Ver. 448. ——— *and round about him saw, unseen:]* Tasso ascribes the same to his Armida, *Fairfax*, B. vii. st. 36.

“ Within a tarras sat on high the queene,

“ And heard and saw, and kept herself unseen.”

And Shakspeare has the same sentiment, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. i.

————— “ Her father and myself

“ Will so bestow ourselves, that seeing unseen

“ We may of their encounter frankly judge.”

So Spenser places Calidore near the Graces, *F. Q.* vi. x. 11.

“ Beholding all, yet of them unespied,” BOWLE.

Ver. 449. *At last, as from a cloud, his fulgent head*

And shape star-bright appear'd,] Not without
 an allusion perhaps to his favourite Apollonius, *Argon.* i. 239.

With what permissive glory since his fall
 Was left him, or false glitter : All amaz'd
 At that so sudden blaze the Stygian throng
 Bent their aspect, and whom they wish'd be-
 held,

Their mighty Chief return'd : loud was the ac-
 claim : 455

Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting peers,
 Rais'd from their dark Divan, and with like joy
 Congratulant approach'd him ; who with hand
 Silence, and with these words attention, won.

οἱ δὲ, φασιν
 Ἀγγέλους ὡς νεφέεσσιν, μετέπειπον.

Ver. 457. *Rais'd from their dark Divan,*] *Divan* is an Ara-
 bick or Turkish word, signifying *The supreme Council*. Sandys,
 in his *Travels*, calls it the *Divano*, as also the *Divan*, pp. 32,
 and 61, edit. 1615. As the poet calls Satan "the Sultan,"
 B. i. 348, he is supposed, by Dr. Newton, here to denominate,
 by another metaphor taken from the Turks, the council of Devils
 "the *Divan*." Hume also thinks the resemblance pertinent.

Probably Milton, however, intended no such reflection as is sup-
 posed. See note, B. i. 795. He was fond of introducing foreign
 words into his poetry ; and in the present instance he has been
 followed by his affectionate biographer, and not unsuccessful imi-
 tator, Fenton. See *Odys.* iv. 902.

" Swift to the queen the herald Medon ran,
 " Who heard the consult of the dire *Divan*."

Ver. 458. *who with hand*
Silence,] Thus Cesar, before addressing his soldiers,
 Lucan, *Pharsal.* i. 297.

" turbâ coëunte, tumultum
 " Composuit vultu, dextrâque silentia jussit."

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,
Powers ; 460

For in possession such, not only of right,
I call ye, and declare ye now ; return'd
Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
Triumphant out of this infernal pit
Abominable, accurs'd, the house of woe, 465
And dungeon of our tyrant : Now possess,
As Lords, a spacious world, to our native Heaven
Little inferiour, by my adventure hard
With peril great achiev'd. Long were to tell

Ver. 460. *Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers ;*] It is common with Homer to make use of the same verse several times, and especially at the beginning of his speeches ; but I know not whether there is not more of simplicity in the practice, than beauty. Milton, however, has done the same with this line : But it is curious to observe how artfully he has managed it ; and by repeating it every time gives new beauty to it. It is first made use of by God the Father, when he declares his Son the Messiah, and appoints him Head of the Angels, B. v. 600.

Satan, after he had revolted and drawn his legions after him into the north, makes use of it again in allusion to the foregoing speech of God the Father ; and questions whether these magnifick titles were not now become merely titular, B. v. 772.

The Seraph Abdiel on the other side repeats it likewise after God the Father, and extols his goodness in having so named the Angels, B. v. 839.

And now Satan addresses his Angels with it again ; for now, says he, I may declare ye such, not only of right, but in possession. So that the repetition of this line depends all along upon the first use of it, and gives a force and beauty to it, which it would not have without the repetition. NEWTON.

Ver. 469. ————— *Long were to tell*] This expression occurs frequently in Spenser, and is introduced here much

What I have done ; what suffer'd ; with what pain
 Voyag'd th' unreal, vast, unbounded deep 471
 Of horrible confusion ; over which
 By Sin and Death a broad way now is pav'd,
 To expedite your glorious march ; but I
 Toil'd out my uncouth passage, forc'd to ride 475
 The untractable abyfs, plung'd in the womb
 Of unoriginal Night and Chaos wild ;
 That, jealous of their secrets, fiercely oppos'd
 My journey strange, with clamorous uproar
 Protesting Fate supreme ; thence how I found 480

in his manner. See his *Faery Queen*, ii. vii. 14, iii. xi. 39 and 44, v. x. 3. BOWLE.

Ver. 471. *Voyag'd th' unreal, &c.*] *Unreal* ; because things which are always changing, says Mr. Stillingfleet, have no real existence : The doctrine of Plato, who calls God *TO'ON*, and describes material things as scarcely really existing.

Ver. 475. *Toil'd out my uncouth passage,*] My strange unusual passage, of the Saxon *uncud* unknown ; *forc'd to ride th' untractable abyfs*, as in B. ii. 540. " and *ride* the air." B. ix. 63. " He *rode* with darkness." Hor. Od. IV. iv. 44. " *Per Siculas equitavit undas.*" We have also in Scripture to *ride* upon the winds, to *ride* upon the clouds, and the like expressions. But the *toil* was not only in *riding*, but riding an *untractable* abyfs.

NEWTON.

Ver. 480. *Protesting Fate supreme ;*] Calling upon Fate as a witness against my proceedings. But this seems not perfectly to agree with the account in book the second. It was indeed with labour and difficulty that Satan journey'd through Chaos, but we do not read of Chaos and the other Powers *fiercely opposing him*, or *protesting Fate with clamorous uproar*. On the contrary Chaos bids him

————— " go, and speed ;
 " Havock, and spoil, and ruin, are my gain."

The new created world, which fame in Heaven
 Long had foretold, a fabrick wonderful
 Of absolute perfection ! therein Man
 Plac'd in a Paradise, by our exile
 Made happy : Him by fraud I have seduc'd 485
 From his Creator ; and, the more to encrease
 Your wonder, with an apple ; he, thereat
 Offended, worth your laughter ! hath given up
 Both his beloved Man and all his world,
 To Sin and Death a prey, and so to us, 490
 Without our hazard, labour, or alarm ;
 To range in, and to dwell, and over Man
 To rule, as over all he should have rul'd.
 True is, me also he hath judg'd, or rather
 Me not, but the brute serpent in whose shape 495
 Man I deceiv'd : that which to me belongs,

But Satan is here extolling his own performances, and perhaps the author did not intend, that the father of lies should keep strictly to truth. NEWTON.

Ver. 480. ————— *thence how I found*] It is very wrong in Dr. Bentley to make here the beginning of a new period. It is the same sentence still continued, and refers to ver. 469. *Long were to tell &c.* NEWTON.

Ver. 484. ————— *by our exile*] So Milton always accentuates it, on the last syllable. An elegant and learned writer thinks this to have been the more ancient accentuation of *exile*. See *Elements of Orthoepey*, 1784, p. 346. Shakespeare uses it both ways. I find both accents employed also in Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, bl. l. 4^o. 1554. Chaucer and Spenser accentuate the word, as far as I can find, on the last syllable only.

Ver. 496. *That which to me belongs,*] Milton understands the sentence (as the most learned and orthodox divines do) as re-

Is enmity, which he will put between
 Me and mankind ; I am to bruise his heel ;
 His seed, when is not set, shall bruise my head ;
 A world who would not purchase with a bruise, 509
 Or much more grievous pain ?—Ye have the ac-
 count

Of my performance : What remains, ye Gods, ¹
 But up, and enter now into full bliss ?

So having said, a while he stood, expecting
 Their universal shout, and high applause, 505
 To fill his ear ; when, contrary, he hears
 On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
 A dismal universal hiss, the sound
 Of publick scorn ; he wonder'd, but not long
 Had leisure, wondering at himself now more ; 510
 His visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare ;
 His arms clung to his ribs ; his legs entwining
 Each other, till supplanted down he fell

ferring partly to Satan the author of malice, and partly to the
 Serpent the instrument of it. NEWTON.

Ver. 513. ——— *till supplanted down he fell*] We may
 observe here a singular beauty and elegance in Milton's language,
 and that is his using words in their strict and literal sense, which
 are commonly applied to a metaphorical meaning ; whereby he
 gives peculiar force to his expressions, and the literal meaning
 appears more new and striking than the metaphor itself. We
 have an instance of this in the word *supplanted*, which is derived
 from the Latin *supplanto*, to trip up one's heels or overthrow, *a*
planta pedis subitus emota : and there are abundance of other ex-
 amples in several parts of this work, but let it suffice to have
 taken notice of it here once for all. NEWTON.

A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,
 Reluctant, but in vain ; a greater power 515
 Now rul'd him, punish'd in the shape he finn'd,
 According to his doom : He would have spoke,
 But his for his return'd with forked tongue
 To forked tongue ; for now were all transform'd
 Alike, to serpents all, as accessories 520
 To his bold riot : Dreadful was the din
 Of hissing through the hall, thick swarming
 now
 With complicated monsters head and tail,

Phillips has judiciously imitated Milton in this respect. See his *Cider*, B. i. 225.

————— “ the rocking town
 “ *Supplants* their footsteps.”

Ver. 514. *A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,*] Milton, in describing Satan's transformation into a serpent, had no doubt in mind the transformation of Cadmus in the fourth book of the *Metamorphosis*, to which he had alluded before in B. ix. 905. And, as several particulars are alike in both, it may be agreeable to the reader to compare both together. Ovid. *Met.* iv. 575, &c.

“ Dixit ; et, ut serpens, in longam tenditur alvum ;
 “ In pectusque cadit pronus ; commissaque in unum
 “ Paulatim tereti sinuantur acumine crura —
 “ Ille quidem vult plura loqui ; sed lingua repente
 “ In partu est fissa duas ; nec verba volenti
 “ Sufficiunt ; quotiesque aliquos parat edere questus,
 “ Sibilat ; hanc illi vocem Natura relinquit.”

But there is something much more astonishing in Milton, than in Ovid ; for there only Cadmus and his wife are changed into serpents, but here myriads of Angels are transformed all together.

NEWTON.

Scorpion, and Asp, and Amphibæna dire,
 Ceraſtes horn'd, Hydrus, and Elops drear, 525
 And Dipſas; (not ſo thick ſwarm'd once the ſoil
 Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the iſle

Ver. 524. Scorpion, and Asp,] Pliny numbers the *Asp* among the ſerpents, viii. 23. And Nicander in his *Theriac*. gives both the *Scorpion* and *Asp* that title. PEARCE.

Ibid. ———— and Amphibæna dire,] In San Bartolomeo's *Voyage to the Eaſt Indies*, published in 1799, mention is made of a ſnake with two heads, called in Portugueſe, *Cobra de duas cabecas*, and in Latin the *Amphibæna*. But Dr. Forſter, the annotator on this work, obſerves that the *Amphibæna* of the ſyſtem has not two heads, but is of equal thickneſs at the head and tail; ſo that it appears as if he could advance both ways.

Ver. 525. Ceraſtes horn'd,] So called from the Greek κέρα, a horn. He is thus ſtyled in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, "the horned Ceraſtes," p. 119. Mr. Bruce ſuppoſes this horned viper to be the aſpick which Cleopatra employed to procure her death. I refer the reader to his curious deſcription of this fatal reptile, *Travels*, &c. vol. v. p. 198—210.

Ibid. ———— Hydrus, and Elops drear,] *Hydrus* is the water-ſnake; and *Elops* is reckoned among the ſerpents by Pliny, xxxii. 5; and by Nicander in his *Theriac*. as Dr. Pearce has obſerved in vindication of Milton. Hume calls the *Elops* a dumb, ſilent ſerpent, that gave no notice, by hisſing, of his approach.

Ver. 526. And Dipſas] So named of δίψα, *thiſt*; becauſe thoſe whom it ſtung, were tormented with unquenchable thiſt.

HUME.

Ibid. ———— the ſoil

Bedropt with blood of Gorgon,] Libya, which therefore abounded ſo much with ſerpents, as Ovid ſays, *Met.* IV. 616 &c. Lucan gives a ſimilar account, *Pharſal.* ix. 696, and there mentions moſt of the ſerpents, which are here mentioned by Milton; namely, the *Asp*, the *Ceraſtes*, the *Dipſas*, and the *Amphibæna*. NEWTON.

Ophiufa,) but ftill greateft he the midft,
 Now Dragon grown, larger than whom the fun
 Ingender'd in the Pythian vale or flime, 530
 Huge Python, and his power no lefs he feem'd

But Milton was led to this allufion by Dante's terrifick picture
 of the damned, *Inferno*, c. xxiv,

“ Più non fi vanti Libia con fua rena ;
 “ Che fe Chelidri, Jaculi, e Faree
 “ Produce, e Cenci con Anfefibena,
 “ Nè tante peftilenzie, nè sì ree
 “ Moftro giammai con tutta l' Etiopia,
 “ Nè con cio, che di fopra 'l mar roffo ee.”

The ftrange transformations of men into ferpents, fo minutely
 defcribed in this canto, could not have here efaped the notice
 of Milton.

Ver. 528. *Ophiufa*,] A fmall ifland in the Mediterranean,
 fo called by the Greeks, and by the Latins *Colubraria*. The in-
 habitants quitted it for fear of being devoured by ferpents.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 529. *Now Dragon grown*,] In the fame place where
 Lucan gives an account of the various ferpents of Libya, he de-
 fcribes the *Dragon* as the greateft and moft terrible of them all :
 And Milton very rightly attributes this form to Satan, efpecially
 fince he is called in Scripture, “ *The great Dragon*,” Rev. xii. 9.
 He may well be faid to be larger than the fabulous *Python* ; of
 which monfter fee a defcription in Ovid, *Met.* i. 438.

NEWTON.

Compare P. Fletcher's account of the rebel angels, *Purp. Ifland*,
 1633. c. vii. ft. 10.

“ But fome his royall fervice (fools !) difdain ;
 “ So down were flung : (oft bliffe is double pain)
 “ In heaven they fcorn'd to ferve, fo now in hell they reigne,

11.

“ There *turn'd to ferpents*, fwoln with pride and hate,
 “ Their Prince a *Dragon fell*, &c.”

Above the rest still to retain ; they all
 Him follow'd, issuing forth to the open field,
 Where all yet left of that revolted rout,
 Heaven-fall'n, in station stood or just array ; 535
 Sublime with expectation when to see
 In triumph issuing forth their glorious Chief ;
 They saw, but other sight instead ! a croud
 Of ugly serpents ; horror on them fell,
 And horrid sympathy ; for, what they saw, 540
 They felt themselves, now changing ; down their
 arms,
 Down fell both spear and shield ; down they as
 fast ;
 And the dire hiss renew'd, and the dire form
 Catch'd, by contagion ; like in punishment,
 As in their crime. Thus was the applause they
 meant, 545
 Turn'd to exploding hiss, triumph to shame
 Cast on themselves from their own mouths. There
 stood
 A grove hard by, sprung up with this their change,
 His will who reigns above, to aggravate
 Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that 550

Ver. 546. ————— *triumph to shame*] *Hof.* iv. 7.
 " I will change their glory into shame." GILLIES.

Ver. 550. *Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that*
 This is the verse in the first edition : In the second, *fair* was by
 mistake omitted, which left the verse imperfect ; yet is followed
 in some editions, though others have it thus ;

" Their penance, laden with fruit, like to that."

Which grew in Paradise, the bait of Eve
 Us'd by the Tempter : on that prospect strange
 Their earnest eyes they fix'd, imagining
 For one forbidden tree a multitude 554
 Now ris'n, to work them further woe or shame ;
 Yet, parch'd with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
 Though to delude them sent, could not abstain ;
 But on they roll'd in heaps, and, up the trees
 Climbing, fat thicker than the snaky locks
 That curl'd Megæra : greedily they pluck'd 560
 The fruitage fair to fight, like that which grew
 Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd ;

Fenton (I know not for what reason) has *patience* in his edition, instead of *penance*. We have continued Milton's own reading.

NEWTON.

Fenton would not have been charged as sole author of this mistake, if Dr. Newton had taken the trouble to look into Tonson's edition of 1711, and Tickell's of 1720 ; in both which *patience* is the corrupt reading. I observe, the true reading is restored in Tonson's edit. of 1746.

Ver. 560. *That curl'd Megæra :*] She was one of the Furies, whose hair was serpents, as Medusa's ; Ovid, *Met.* iv. 771.

———— “ *crinita draconibus ora,*” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 561. *The fruitage fair to fight, like that which grew
 Near that bituminous lake &c.*] The Dead Sea, or the lake *Asphaltites*, so called from the *bitumen* which it is said to have cast up ; near which Sodom and Gomorrah, were situated. Josephus mentions *the apples of Sodom* as dissolving into ashes and smoke at the first touch. But our countrymen, Sandys and Maundrell, who visited the Holy Land, are inclined to disbelieve that such fruit existed. Cotovicus, however, to whose *Travels* I have before referred the reader, describing *Sodom*, &c. positively asserts the same particulars of these apples, which the

This more delusive, not the touch, but taste
 Deceiv'd ; they, fondly thinking to allay
 Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit 565
 Chew'd bitter ashes, which the offended taste
 With spattering noise rejected : oft they assay'd
 Hunger and thirst constraining ; drugg'd as oft,
 With hatefullest disrelish writh'd their jaws,
 With foot and cinders fill'd ; so oft they fell 570
 Into the same illusion, not as Man

Jewish historian mentions, and to which the poet very minutely alludes : “ Hinc quoque arbores illic spectes visu pulcherrimas, et *poma viridantia* producentes, *adspectu ridentia et nitida*, et *quæ edendi generent spectantibus cupiditatem*, sed intus *favillâ et cinere plena* ; quæ ipsa etiam, si carpas, fatiscunt, et in cinerem resoluntur, et, quasi adhuc arderent, fumum excitant.” *Iiin. Hierosol.* ed. supr. p. 312.

See also *Sir John Maundevill's Travels*, edition 1725, p. 122, where he is speaking of this delusive fruit. “ And there besyden growen trees, that beren fulle *faire apples*, and *faire of colour to beholde* ; but who so breketh hem, or cuttethe hem in two, he schalle fynde within hem *coles* and *cyndres*.”

Ver. 568. ————— drugg'd as oft,] A metaphor taken from the general nauseousness of *drugs*, when they are taken by way of medicine. PEARCE.

Ver. 569. *With hatefullest disrelish writh'd their jaws*,] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 246.

————— “ et ora

“ Tristia tentantum sensu torquebit amaror.”

The sound of Virgil's words admirably expresses the thing ; nor are Milton's less expressive in this, and in the preceding, line :

————— “ which the offended taste

“ With spattering noise rejected.” NEWTON.

There is a resemblance of the same kind in the fourth book of Lucretius, “ *Fædo pertorquent ora-sapore*,”

Whom they triumph'd once laps'd. Thus were
 they plagu'd
 And worn with famine, long and ceaseless hifs,

Ver. 572. *Whom they triumph'd once laps'd.*] Is the construction thus, "Not as Man whom they triumph'd over, once laps'd, *semel lapsus est*:" Or thus rather, "*Quo semel lapsus triumpharunt*, Whom *being* once laps'd they triumph'd?" Fenton's pointing would lead to the former sense; but Milton's own, rather to the latter; and thus Dr. Trapp translates it,

"Non ut homo; quo, egere, semel labente, triumphos."

The antithesis is between *so oft they fell* and *once laps'd*; and, as *so oft they fell* are the first words of the sentence, *once laps'd* is very artfully thrown to the end. NEWTON.

I think it more in Milton's manner, if we read the passage with the *ellipsis*, "Not as Man whom they triumph'd over." Thus in ver. 186 of this book, "Spoil'd Principalities and Powers, triumph'd in open show," i. e. "triumph'd over."

Ver. 573. *And worn with famine, long and ceaseless hifs,*] Dr. Bentley reads

"*With thirst* and famine dire, and ceaseless hifs."

Worn, he says, is flat and low, after *plagu'd*: but *plagu'd*, in the metaphorical sense, is only vexed and tormented; an idea below that of *worn* or wasted away. He asks why *thirst* is omitted, though mentioned before, and less tolerable than *famine*? It is, because *famine* more properly, at least sooner and more visibly, wears men away than *thirst*. PEARCE.

The greatest objection to this line, is the want of a conjunction between *with famine* and *long and ceaseless hifs*; but that might be remedied thus;

"And worn with famine, and long ceaseless hifs."

Or thus,

"And worn with famine long, and ceaseless hifs."

NEWTON.

Worn, is *exhausted*, worn out; and, as Mr. Stillingfleet observes, denotes the last effect of misery: And *famine*, in its

Till their lost shape, permitted, they resum'd ;
 Yearly enjoin'd, some say, to undergo, 575
 This annual humbling certain number'd days,
 To dash their pride, and joy, for Man seduc'd.
 However, some tradition they dispers'd
 Among the Heathen, of their purchase got,
 And fabled how the Serpent, whom they call'd 580

general sense of *dearth*, includes the want of those things which minister to *thirst*, as well as to *hunger*. It is probable also that the comma, in Milton's editions, might have been intended to stand after *long*, and not after *famine*; as Dr. Newton proposes to point the line.

Ver. 575. ——— *some say,*] The old romancers, as Dr. Warburton suspected; in whose writings these annual, monthly, or weekly penances of men changed into animals, are often mentioned. Dr. Newton thinks the speech of the Fairy Manto, in Ariosto, approaches nearest to the text, *Orl. Fur.* c. xliiii. st. 98.

“ Ch' ogni settimo giorno ognuna è certa,
 “ Che la sua forma in biscia si converta.”

To this instance of *weekly penance*, may be added other examples of the *human shape* converted into *serpents* from the romance of *Amadis de Grecia*, as cited by Mr. Bowle: “ La serpiente se torno una dueña vieja,” P. ii. c. iv. f. 98. “ Vieron un prado de muy lindas flores y yerva verde, et qual antes parecia lago: y los serpientes que por el andavan eran señores y cavalleros,” Ib. c. xlvii. f. 138.

Ver. 580. *And fabled how the Serpent, &c.*] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this whole passage: but our author is endeavouring to show, that there was some tradition, among the Heathen, of the great power that Satan had obtain'd over mankind. And this he proves by what is related of *Ophion with Eurynome*. *Ophion with Eurynome*, he says, *had first the rule of high Olympus, and were driven thence by Saturn and Ops or Rhca, ere yet their son Diææan Jove was born, so called from Diæte, a mountain of*

Ophion, with Eurynome, the wide-
Encroaching Eve perhaps, had first the rule
Of high Olympus; thence by Saturn driven
And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.

Crete, where he was educated. And Milton seems to have taken this story from Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonaut.* i. 503.

"Ἥιδεν δ' ὡς πρῶτον Ὀφίων Εὐρυνόμη τε
Ὠκεανὸς ἐφύεντος ἔχον κράτος οὐλύμποιο.
Ὦγε βίη καὶ χερσὶν, ὃ μὲν Κρόνῳ εἵκαθε τιμῆς,
Ἥ δὲ Ρέα· ἔπεισον δ' ἐνὶ κύμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο.
Οἱ δὲ τίως μακάρεσσι θεοῖς Τιτῆσιν ἀνασσον,
Ὅφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κῦρος ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδῶς
Δικταῖον νάεισκεν ὑπὸ σπείος.

Now *Ophion*, according to the Greek etymology, signifies a *Serpent*; and therefore Milton conceives that by *Ophion* the *old Serpent* might be intended, *the Serpent whom they call'd Ophion*: and *Eurynome* signifying *wide-ruling*, he says, but says doubtfully, that she might be the *wide-encroaching Eve perhaps*. For I understand the *wide-encroaching* not as an epithet to *Eurynome*, explaining her name, but as an epithet to *Eve*, Milton having placed the comma after *Eurynome*, and not after the *wide-encroaching*. And besides some epithet should be added to *Eve* to show the similitude between her and *Eurynome*, and why he takes the one for the other; and therefore, in allusion to the name of *Eurynome*, he styles Eve *the wide-encroaching*, as extending her rule and dominion further than she should over her husband, and affecting Godhead. This explanation may be farther confirmed and illustrated by the following note of the learned Mr. Jortin. "Milton took this story from Apollonius I, who is quoted by Lloyd's Dictionary, under the word *Ophion*. Prometheus in Æschylus, ver. 956, says that two Gods had borne rule before Jupiter: where the Scholiast; ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Ὀφίων καὶ Εὐρυνόμη· ἔπειτα Κρόνος καὶ Ρέα· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἥρα. Others will have it that Ὀυρανὸς and Γῆ reign'd first. I think the epithet *wide-encroaching* belongs to *Eve*, not to *Eurynome*. He calls *Eve wide-encroaching*, because, as he tells us, she wanted to be superior to her husband, to be a Goddess &c." NEWTON.

Mean while in Paradise the hellish pair 585
 Too soon arriv'd ; Sin, there in power before,
 Once actual ; now in body, and to dwell
 Habitual habitant ; behind her Death,
 Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
 On his pale horse : to whom Sin thus began. 590

Second of Satan sprung, all-conquering Death !
 What think'st thou of our empire now, though
 earn'd

With travel difficult, not better far
 Than still at Hell's dark threshold to have fat
 watch,

Unnam'd, undreaded, and thyself half starv'd ? 595

Whom thus the Sin-born monster answer'd
 soon,

To me, who with eternal famine pine,
 Alike is Hell, or Paradise, or Heaven ;

Ver. 586. ———— *Sin, there in power before,*

Once actual ; now in body, and to dwell

Habitual habitant ;] The sense is, That, before

the Fall, Sin was *in power*, or potentially in Paradise ; that *once* viz. upon the Fall, it was actually there, though not bodily ; but that *now*, upon its arrival in Paradise, it was there in *body*, and dwelt as a constant inhabitant. The words *in body* allude to what St. Paul says *Rom. vi. 6*, “ that the *body of sin* might be destroyed.” PEARCE.

Ver. 589. ———— *Not mounted yet*

On his pale horse :] Milton has given a fine turn to this poetical thought, by saying that Death had *not mounted yet* on his pale horse : For, though he was to have a long and all-conquering power, he had not *yet* begun, neither was he for some time, to put it in execution. GREENWOOD.

There best, where most with ravine I may meet ;
Which here, though plenteous, all too little
seems 600

To stuff this maw, this vast unhide-bound corps.

To whom the incestuous mother thus replied.

Thou therefore on these herbs, and fruits, and
flowers,

Feed first ; on each beast next, and fish, and fowl ;

No homely morsels ! and, whatever thing 605

The fithe of Time mowes down, devour un-
spar'd ;

Till I, in Man residing, through the race,

His thoughts, his looks, words, actions, all infect ;

And season him thy last and sweetest prey.

This said, they both betook them several ways,

Both to destroy, or unimmortal make 611

All kinds, and for destruction to mature

Sooner or later ; which the Almighty seeing,

From his transcendent seat the Saints among,

To those bright Orders utter'd thus his voice. 615

Ver. 600. *Which here, though plenteous, all too little seems*

To stuff this maw,] Compare *Prov.* xxvii. 30.

“ Hell and destruction are never full ; so the eyes of man are never satisfied.”

Ver. 601. ————— *this vast unhide-bound corps.*]

It is strange how Dr. Bentley and others have puzzled this passage. The meaning is plain enough. For Death, though lean, is yet described as a vast monster in the second book. And his body was not tight-braced, and did not look sleek and smooth, as when creatures are swoln and full ; but hung loose about him, and was capable of containing a great deal without being distended.

NEWTON.

See, with what heat these dogs of Hell advance
To waste and havock yonder world, which I

Ver. 616. *See, with what heat these dogs of Hell advance &c.*] We may be certain, I think, that Milton had his eye upon this passage in Sophocles, *Electra* v. 1499.

Ἴδιδ' ὅπως προρέμειαι
Τὸ δυσέριτον αἷμα φουσῶν Ἀρης·
Βεῖῶσι δ' ἄρτι δωμάτων ὑπόγειοι
Μεταδρόμοι κακῶν πανουργημάτων,
Ἄφελτοι κύνες.

And may we not suppose, that he alluded also to Shakspeare's *Jul. Cæsar*, A. iii. S. i.

“ And Cæsar's spirit, ranging for revenge,
“ With Atë by his side, come hot from hell,
“ Shall in these confines, with a monarch's voice,
“ Cry *Havock*, and let slip the dogs of war.”

Homer often puts such language into the mouths of his gods and heroes; and there are some such expressions in Scripture. “ For *dogs* have compassed me,” *Psalms* xxii. 16. “ They are greedy *dogs*,” *Isaiah* lvi. 11. “ Beware of *dogs*,” *Phil.* iii. 2. “ Without are *dogs*,” *Rev.* xxii. 15. Thus far perhaps Milton may be justified; but, in some other parts of this speech, the metaphors are wonderfully coarse indeed; and seem to be beneath the dignity of an epick poem, and much more unbecoming the majesty of the Divine Speaker; unless they may be vindicated by the following passage in Scripture, which is expressed by the Son of God himself, “ I will spew thee out of my mouth,” *Rev.* iii. 16. NEWTON.

Dr. Newton might have added, that the *dogs of Hell* is an expression in Apollonius, *Argon.* iv. 1666.

Θύγεις δὲ κῆρας
Θυμολόφης, Ἄλδαο θοὰς ΚΥΝΑΣ, αἱ περὶ πᾶσαι
Ἰέρας διύυσσαι ἐπὶ λωοῖσιν ἄγονται.

Mr. Stillingfleet also refers to this passage, and to those in Scripture already cited.

So fair and good created ; and had still
 Kept in that state, had not the folly of Man
 Let in these wasteful furies, who impute 610
 Folly to me ; so doth the Prince of Hell
 And his adherents, that with so much ease
 I suffer them to enter and possess
 A place so heavenly ; and, conniving, seem
 To gratify my scornful enemies, 625
 That laugh, as if, transported with some fit
 Of passion, I to them had quitted all,
 At random yielded up to their misrule ;
 And know not that I call'd, and drew them thither,
 My Hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth 630
 Which Man's polluting sin with taint hath shed
 On what was pure ; till, cramm'd and gorg'd,
 nigh burst
 With suck'd and glutted offal, at one sling
 Of thy victorious arm, well-pleasing Son, 634
 Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave, at last,

Ver. 631. ————— hath *shed*] Fenton reads,
 after Tickell, "*had shed.*"

Ver. 663. ————— at one sling
Of thy victorious arm,] A phrase suggested per-
 haps by I *Sam.* xxv. 29. "The souls of thine enemies, them
 shall he *sling* out as out of the middle of a *sling.*"

Ver. 635. *Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave,*] *Death*
 and the *Grave* meaning the same is a pleonasm ; which, adding
 force and energy, and calling forth the attention, is a beauty
 common in the best writers : but not for that reason only has
 Milton used it : the Scripture has thus joined *Death* and the
Grave, Hof. xiii. 14, I *Cor.* xv. 55, and *Rev.* xx. 13, where
 the word rendered *Hell* signifies also the *Grave*. RICHARDSON.

Through Chaos hurl'd, obstruct the mouth of Hell
 For ever, and seal up his ravenous jaws.
 Then Heaven and Earth renew'd shall be made pure
 To sanctity, that shall receive no stain : 639
 Till then, the curse pronounc'd on both precedes.

He ended, and the heavenly audience loud
 Sung Halleluiah, as the sound of seas,

Ver. 635. ————— and yawning Grave at last] Perhaps Mallet remembered this passage, in his *William and Margaret* :

“ This is the dumb and dreary hour

“ When injur'd ghosts complain ;

“ When yawning graves give up their dead,

“ To haunt the faithless swain.”

See also Shakspeare, *Jul. Cæsar*, A. ii. S. ii.

“ And graves have yawn'd, and yielded up their dead.”

Ver. 636. ————— obstruct the mouth of Hell

For ever,] Mr. Boyd, the learned and elegant translator of Dante's *Inferno*, is of opinion, that the sublime imagination of Dante, *That the earthquake, which attended the crucifixion, overthrew the infernal ramparts, and obstructed the way to Hell*, gave the hint to Milton, that Sin and Death first built the infernal bridge, whose partial ruin at least was the consequence of the resurrection. See the *Inferno*, c. xxiii.

Ver. 640. *Till then, the curse pronounc'd on both precedes.*] *On both*, that is on *Heaven and Earth* mentioned in ver. 638 ; the Heaven and Earth that were polluted, and *shall be made pure to sanctity*. But should we read *precedes* or *proceeds* with Dr. Bentley ? And is the meaning (as Mr. Richardson explains it) that the curse pronounc'd shall go before those ravagers Sin and Death, and shall direct and lead them on ? Or the curse shall *proceed*, shall go on, shall continue till the consummation of all things, and Heaven and Earth shall be restor'd ? NEWTON.

Ver. 641. *He ended, and the heavenly audience loud*

Sung Halleluiah,] Dr. Bentley reads *and to him the audience loud &c.* ; without this (says he) it is not said *to whom*

Through multitude that sung : Just are thy ways,
 Righteous are thy decrees on all thy works ;
 Who can extenuate thee ? Next, to the Son, 645
 Destin'd Restorer of mankind, by whom
 New Heaven and Earth shall to the ages rise,
 Or down from Heaven descend.—Such was their
 song ;

While the Creator, calling forth by name
 His mighty Angels, gave them several charge, 650

they sung ; and the words *Next, to the Son*, ver. 645, shew that they sung before *to him*, to the Father. But this objection is founded upon the Doctor's not observing the force of the word *Halleluiah*, where *Jah* signifies *to God*, the Father ; and therefore there was no need of *to him*. See B. vii. 634. NEWTON.

Ver. 643. ————— *Just are thy ways,*

Righteous are thy decrees] The same song, says

Dr. Newton, that they are represented singing in the Revelation, *Rev.* xv. 3, and *Rev.* xvi. 7. As in the foregoing passage, which is remarked also by Addison, he alluded to *Rev.* xix. 6. "*And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and, as the voice of many waters, saying, Halleluiah.*"

Ver. 647. *New Heaven and Earth shall to the ages rise,*

Or down from Heaven descend.] Heaven and Earth

is the Jewish phrase to express our world ; and the *new Heaven and Earth* must certainly be the same with that mentioned just before, v. 638.

And they *shall to the ages rise*, to the Millennium, to the *auræa sæcula*, as they are called, or to *ages of endless date*, as he elsewhere expresses it, B. xii. 549. *Shall rise* ; for sometimes he speaks of them as *rais'd from the conflagrant mass*, B. xii. 547. And *springing from the ashes*, B. iii. 334. Or *down from Heaven descend* ; for St. John describes *the holy city, the new Jerusalem*, *Rev.* xxi. 2. as *coming down from God out of Heaven*.

NEWTON.

As sorted best with present things. The sun
 Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
 As might affect the earth with cold and heat
 Scarce tolerable; and from the north to call
 Decrepit winter; from the south to bring 655

Ver. 655. *Decrepit winter*;] Alluding perhaps to Spenser's description of winter, under the figure of a decrepit old man, *Faer. Qu.* vii. vii. 31. THYER.

The expression occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wife for a Month*;

"*Decrepit winter* hang upon my shoulders," NEWTON.

And in Habington's *Castara*, 1635, p. 62. "To the *Winter*."

"Why dost *thou* looke so pale, *decrepit man*?"

This passage will support also Mr. Thyer's remark. Donne, in his *Poems*, 1633, p. 123, has "the year's cold and *decrepit* time;" where he means Christmas.

Ibid, ————— from the south to bring

Solstitial summer's heat.] Have a care, says Dr. Bentley, of going too far *south* to bring *summer's heat*, the regions near the southern pole being as cold as those near the northern: he therefore reads

—————"from the *torrid zone*

"Solstitial summer's heat."

But the word *solstitial* seems sufficiently to determine, from how far *south* Milton meant that this *summer's heat* was brought; namely, so far from the south as the sun is, when he is in the summer's solstice, or about 23 degrees and a half southward.

The ancient poets represent the south as the region of heat, Statius, *Theb.* i. 160.

—————"aut Boreâ gelidas, madidive tepentes

"Igne Noti."

And Lucan, very extravagantly, i. 54.

"Nec polus adversi calidus quâ vergitur Austri," JORTIN,

Solstitial summer's heat. To the blanc moon
 Her office they prescribed ; to the other five
 Their planetary motions, and aspects,
 In sextile, square, and trine, and opposite,
 Of noxious efficacy, and when to join 660
 In synod unbenign ; and taught the fix'd
 Their influence malignant when to shower,
 Which of them rising with the sun, or falling,
 Should prove tempestuous : To the winds they set

Ver. 656. ————— To the blanc moon] The *pale-faced* moon, as Hume observes, from the French *blanc*, white. So, as Dr. Newton adds, Virgil calls her "*candida luna*," *Æn.* vii. 8 ; and the Italian poets, "*bianca luna*:" Thus, *Canzon.* del Giustiniano, 1620, p. 12.

" E *bianca* Cintia in negro ciel pare."

Compare also B. i. 787, where " the moon wheels her *pale* course." Again, B. iii. 732. " And in her *pale* dominion checks the night."

Ver. 659. In *sextile, square, &c.*] If an unnecessary ostentation of learning be, as Addison observes, one of Milton's faults, it certainly must be an aggravation of it, where he not only introduces, but countenances, such enthusiastick unphilosophical notions as this jargon of the astrologers is made up of.

THYER.

Ver. 663. Which of them rising with the sun, or falling,
 Should prove tempestuous :] Written probably not without an eye to Virgil, *Georg.* i. 335.

" Hoc metuens, cœli menses et sidera ferva :

" Frigida Saturni fese quo stella receptet ;

" Quos ignis cœli Cyllenius erret in orbes.—

" Ipse Pater statuit, quid menstrua Luna moneret ;

" Quo signo caderent Austri." NEWTON.

Their corners, when with bluster to confound 66;
 Sea, air, and shore; the thunder when to roll
 With terrour through the dark æreal hall.
 Some say, he bid his Angels turn ascanfe

It is probable that Milton rather consulted the Grecian astrologer and poet, Aratus; who, in his *Φαινόμενα* and *Διοσκήμεια*, discusses this subject more fully, and to whom Virgil's lines owe their origin.

Ver. 664.] Dr. Bentley would here read,

—————“ To the winds they gave
 “ Their orders, when with bluster to confound
 “ Sea, air, and shore: To thunder when to roll
 “ With terrour through the wide æreal hall.”

Let us hear his reasons for altering the text. The *winds*, (says he) as distinguished from one another, had their *corners* and quarters set before the Fall: but this assertion is directly contrary to what Milton tells us in ver. 695, &c. He asks what is meant by *their corners*, when *with bluster to confound*? But the sentence is to be thus supplied; *set their corners*, and taught them *when with bluster* &c. and the same ellipsis we have in ver. 660. Or, if this should not be approved of, I had much rather read (as the doctor proposes) *set their corners*, whence *with bluster to confound*—*the thunder* whence *to roll*. It may be wondered at, how the doctor came in the next verse to change *the thunder when to roll*, into, *To thunder, when to roll*; since *roll* is plainly an active verb here, and *thunder* is the accusative case after it. As little reason has he to change *dark* in the last verse into *wide*; for since he allows that the *æreal hall* or sky is *darkened* by the clouds that attend and cause *thunder*, the sky may as well be said in poetry to be then *dark*, as *darkened*.

PEARCE.

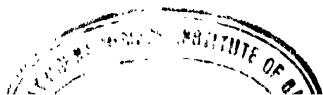
Ver. 668. *Some say, he bid his Angels* &c.] It was *eternal spring* (B. iv. 268.) before the Fall: and he is now accounting for the change of seasons after the Fall, and mentions the two famous hypotheses.

Some say, it was occasioned by altering the position of the

The poles of earth, twice ten degrees and more,
From the sun's axle; they with labour push'd 670

earth, by turning the poles of the earth above 20 degrees aside from the sun's orb, *he bid his Angels turn ascense the poles of earth twice ten degrees and more from the sun's axle*; and the poles of the earth are about 23 degrees and a half distant from those of the ecliptick; *they with labour push'd oblique the centrick globe*, it was erect before, but is *oblique* now; the *obliquity* of a sphere is the proper astronomical term, when the pole is raised any number of degrees less than 90; *the centrick globe* fixed on its center and therefore moved *with labour* and difficulty, or rather *centrick*, as being the center of the world, according to the Ptolemaick system, which our author usually follows.

Some say again this change was occasioned by altering the course of the sun, *the sun was bid to turn reins from the equinoctial road* in which he had moved before, *like distant breadth* in both hemispheres, *to Taurus with the seven Atlantick Sisters*, the constellation Taurus with the seven stars in his neck, the Pleiades daughters of Atlas, *and the Spartan Twins*, the sign Gemini, Castor and Pollux, twin-brothers, and sons of Tyndarus king of Sparta, *up to the Tropick Crab*, the tropick of Cancer, the sun's farthest stage northwards; *thence down amain*, Dr. Bentley reads *as much*, as much on one side of the equator as the other, but if any alteration were necessary it is easier to read *thence down again*, *by Leo and the Virgin*, the sign Virgo, *and the Scales*, the constellation Libra, *as deep as Capricorn*, the tropick of Capricorn which is the sun's farthest progress southwards. This motion of the sun in the ecliptick occasions the variety of seasons, *else had the spring perpetual smil'd on earth with vernal flowers*, if the sun had continued to move in the equator. It is likewise Dr. Burnet's assertion, that the primitive earth enjoyed a perpetual spring, and for the same reason of the sun's moving in the equator. But though this notion of a perpetual spring may be very pleasing in poetry, yet it is very false in philosophy; and this position of the earth so far from being the best is one of the worst it could have, as Dr. Keill hath proved excellently well in the fourth chapter of his *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth*. NEWTON.



Oblique the centrick globe: Some say, the sun
 Was bid turn reins from the equinoctial road
 Like distant breadth to Taurus with the seven
 Atlantick Sisters, and the Spartan Twins, 674
 Up to the Tropick Crab: thence down amain
 By Leo, and the Virgin, and the Scales,
 As deep as Capricorn; to bring in change
 Of seasons to each clime; else had the spring
 Perpetual smil'd on earth with vernal flowers,
 Equal in days and nights, except to those 680
 Beyond the polar circles; to them day
 Had unbenighted shone, while the low sun,
 To recompense his distance, in their fight
 Had rounded still the horizon, and not known
 Or east or west; which had forbid the snow 685
 From cold Estotiland, and south as far
 Beneath Magellan. At that tasted fruit
 The sun, as from Thyestean banquet, turn'd

Ver. 673. ————— to *Taurus*] Dr. Bentley reads
 “*through* *Taurus* ;” through it and Gemini, up to Cancer.
 Pope approves this emendation; and it seems probable; *through*
Taurus, and *by* *Leo*, afterwards answering to each other.

NEWTON.

Ver. 686. ————— *Estotiland*,] A great tract of land in
 the north of America, towards the Arctick Circle and Hudfon's
 Bay; as *Magellan* is a country in South America, which toge-
 ther with its straits took their name of Ferdinandus Magellanus
 a Portuguese, who in the year 1520 first discovered them.

HUME.

Ver. 687. ————— *At that tasted fruit*

The sun, as from Thyestean banquet, turn'd &c.] *Thyestes*
 and *Atreus*, brethren, hated each other outrageously; the

His course intended ; else, how had the world
 Inhabited, though sinless, more than now, 690
 Avoided pinching cold and scorching heat ?
 These changes in the Heavens, though slow, produc'd

Like change on sea and land ; fideral blast,
 Vapour, and mist, and exhalation hot,
 Corrupt and pestilent : Now, from the north 695
 Of Norumbega, and the Samoed shore,

first in spite lay with the wife of Atreus, but he, having gotten his brother's children in his power, pretended a desire of reconciliation, and invited him to a banquet. Thyestes, that he might see his children, dissembling his augmented malice, came ; the feast being over, his brother let him know he had been entertained with the flesh of his sons, and their blood mixed with the wine, and showed him the sad proof of what he had told him, their heads and hands, which he had reserved for that purpose. At this the sun is said to have turned away, as Milton here says he did when the more dreadful banquet was made on the fruit of the forbidden tree. RICHARDSON.

We may farther observe that it is called the *Thyestean banquet*, though made not by him, but only for him : and Euripides in like manner calls it, *διπνα Θυέστου*. Orest. v. 1010 ; and Horace, *cæna Thyestæ*. De Art. Poet. v. 91. And Pope would read here *Thyestes'*. NEWTON.

Dr. Bentley also objects to *Thyestean* for *Thyestean* ; but Dr. Pearce, who shows that Milton uses *Ægean* for *Ægean*, B. i. 745, and *Chaly'bean* for *Chalybean*, in *Samson Agonistes*, v. 133, observes, that instances of such a poetical liberty may be found in the best ancient poets, as well as in the modern.

Ver. 696. *Of Norumbega, and the Samoed shore,*] *Norumbega*, a province of the northern America. *Samoeda*, a province in the north-east of Muscovy, upon the frozen sea.

HUME.

Burſting their brazen dungeon, arm'd with ice,
 And ſnow, and hail, and ſtormy guſt and flaw,
 Boreas, and Cæcias, and Argeſtes loud, 699
 And Thraſcias, rend the woods, and ſeas upturn;
 With adverſe blaſt upturns them from the ſouth
 Notus, and Afer black with thunderous clouds
 From Serralliona; thwart of theſe, as fierce,
 Forth ruſh the Lévant and the Ponent winds,
 Eurua and Zephyr, with their lateral noiſe, 705
 Sirocco and Libecchio. Thus began
 Outrage from lifeleſs things; but Diſcord firſt,
 Daughter of Sin, among the irrational
 Death introduc'd, through fierce antipathy:

Ver. 697. ——— their *brazen dupleon*,] “ *Ventorum carcere*,” Virg. *Æn.* i. 141.

Ibid. ——— arm'd *with ice*, &c.] So Claudian, *De Rapt. Prof.* i. 69.

—————“ *ceu turbine rauco*
 “ *Cùm gravis armatur Boreas, glaciéque nivali.*”

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 698. ——— *and ſtormy guſt and flaw*,] *Guſt* and *flaw* ſeem to be words much of the ſame import, only *flaw* is the ſtronger, derived, as Junius ſays, from the Greek *φλάω*, to *break*. Shakſpeare uſes both words in his *Venus and Adonis*;

“ Like a red morn, that ever yet betoken'd

“ *Guſt* and foul *flaws* to herdſmen and to herds.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 699. *Boreas, and Cæcias, &c.*] In this account of the winds is a needleſs oſtentation of learning, and a ſtrange mixture of ancient and modern, Latin and Italian, names together. Theſe are the foibles and weak parts of our author. NEWTON.

Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with
 fowl, 710
 And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving,
 Devour'd each other; nor stood much in awe
 Of Man, but fled him; or, with countenance
 grim,

Ver. 711. ————— *to graze the herb all leaving, &c.*]

The word *all* here makes strange sense of this passage, since, according to common construction, it implies that beasts, fowl, and fish, all grazed before the Fall, and immediately after it began all to prey upon each other; neither of which could possibly be Milton's meaning. How to restore the true reading I do not pretend to determine, but the following lines seem to confine the devouring to the beasts, and might not therefore the word *those* be substituted in the place of *all*? THYER.

Whether Milton's notion was right or not is another question, but certainly it was his notion that *beast*, *fowl*, and *fish* grazed the herb before the Fall. Of the *beasts* there can be no doubt; and the *fowl* have the green herb given them for meat as well as the beasts. Gen. i. 30. *And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air I have given every green herb for meat.* And the goose particularly is by the poet who has best imitated Milton called *close-grazer*, Philips's *Cyder*, B. i.

The greatest difficulty is with regard to the *fish*, but of these Milton says expressly, B. vii. 404, that they "Graze the seaweed their pasture"—and therefore, according to this notion, it may be said of fowl and fish as well as beasts,

—————"to graze the herb all leaving,

"Devour'd each other"————

But *all* here is not all and every one in particular, but only all in general. Fowl prey upon fowl, and fish upon fish, as much as beast upon beast. Beast, fowl, and fish, all the three kinds, though not all of the three kinds, devour each other.

NEWTON.

Ver. 712. ————— *nor stood much in awe*

Of Man, but fled him;] Dr. Bentley reads "but

Glar'd on him passing. These were from without
 The growing miseries, which Adam saw 715
 Already in part, though hid in gloomiest shade,
 To sorrow abandon'd, but worse felt within;
 And, in a troubled sea of passion tost,
 Thus to disburden fought with sad complaint.

hunn'd him:" because (he says) if they fled him, it was a sign of *fear*, of more than *awe*. True, and for that very reason *fled* is right here; because nothing more shows our not standing much in awe of a Man, than our fearing him. *Awe* is a respect or reverence paid to one whom we love; and love excludes fear.

PEARCE.

Ver. 714. ———— *These were from without &c.*] The transition to Adam here is very easy and natural, and cannot fail of pleasing the reader. We have seen great alterations produced in nature, and it is now time to see how Adam is affected with them; and whether the disorders *within* are not even worse than those *without*. NEWTON.

Ver. 718. — *in a troubled sea of passion tost,*] Isaiah lvii. 20. *The wicked are like the troubled sea.* GREENWOOD.

Milton, in his *Colasterion*, has the following expression: "*Tost and tempested in a most unquiet sea of afflictions and temptations.*" And, in his *Ch. Government*, B. ii. "To imbark in a troubled sea of noises." Compare Carew, in his Poems: "*Tost in a troubled sea of griefs.*" And Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, 1632.

"Brother, I find my soul a troubled sea,
 "Whose billows are not fully quieted,
 "Although the storm be over."

The *sea of sorrow*, or of *evils*, is a frequent expression in the Greek and Latin, as well as in our own, poets. And the emphatick title, given to one of the most ancient Sanscreeet treatises on Musick, is *The sea of passions*. See the *Asiat. Researches*, vol. ii. p. 55.

Ver. 719. *Thus to disburden fought*] A metaphor taken from a ship in a tempest, unlading, *disburdening*, to preserve itself from sinking by its weight. RICHARDSON.

O miserable of happy ! Is this the end 720.
 Of this new glorious world, and me so late
 The glory of that glory, who now become
 Accurs'd, of blessed ? hide me from the face
 Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
 Of happiness !—Yet well, if here would end 725
 The misery ; I deserv'd it, and would bear
 My own deservings ; but this will not serve :
 All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,
 Is propagated curse. O voice, once heard
 Delightfully, *Encrease and multiply* ; 730
 Now death to hear ! for what can I encrease,
 Or multiply, but curses on my head ?
 Who of all ages to succeed, but, feeling
 The evil on him brought by me, will curse
 My head ? Ill fare our ancestor impure, 735

Ver. 724. ————— *then*] Here, as Mr. Stillingfleet observes, is an elegant and natural ellipsis : “ then—
when I was innocent !”

Ver. 728. *All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,*
Is propagated curse.] Meat and drink *propagate*
 it, by prolonging life ; and children, by carrying it on to
 posterity. NEWTON.

Ver. 733. *Who of all ages to succeed, but, feeling*
The evil on him brought by me, will curse
My head ?] Adam utters similar sentiments in
 the *Lacrymæ Adami* of Gazæus, a Jesuit and Canon of Liege.
 See his *Pia Hilaria*, Antwerp. 1629, vol. i. p. 289.

“ Hic vos congemitis, comploratîsque nepotes ;

“ Peccavi Radix impia, Rame luis.

“ Prô ! quoties in me clamabitur, O pater Adam,

“ O nimium natis perniciose tuis !”

For this we may thank Adam ! but his thanks
 Shall be the execration : fo, besides
 Mine own that bide upon me, all from me
 Shall with a fierce reflux on me rebound ;
 On me, as on their natural center, light 740
 Heavy, though in their place. O fleeting joys
 Of Paradife, dear bought with lasting woes !

Ver. 740. *On me, as on their natural center, light*

Heavy, though in their place.] Dr. Bentley has really made some very just objections to several lines here together. He finds fault with Adam's not keeping up a due decorum, and in that heavy seriousness and anxiety leaving his true topics, and catching at trifles, jingles, and other such prettinesses. He censures him, as Addison had done before, for using such low phrases, as *For this we may thank Adam* ; and then for soaring so high inter nubes et inania ; *refluxes and natural centers* ; *heavy, though in their place*. Adam, it seems, was already a Peripatetic in his notions : he supposes here, that elementary bodies do not gravitate in their natural places : not air in air, not water in water ; from which he fetches a pretty lamentation, " That, contrary to the course of nature, his afflictions will weigh heavy on him, though they be in their proper place." Is not he solely afflicted (says the doctor) that talks at this rate ? And yet the worst of it is, this notion is false, and long since exploded by the modern philosophy : water weighs in water, as much as it does out of it. And therefore the doctor is for lopping off with a bold hand ten lines together : and we heartily wish indeed that no such passages had been admitted into any part of the poem, and especially into so fine a speech as this before us, and all that we can say for them is,

" Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus." NEWTON.

A part of the foregoing objections is perhaps unreasonable ; for, as Mr. Stillingfleet observes, whatever reformation philosophy has made about *bodies weighing in their place*, Milton only followed the notions then in vogue.

Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
 To mould me Man? did I solicit thee
 From darkneſs to promote me, or here place 745
 In this delicious garden? As my will
 Concurr'd not to my being, it were but right
 And equal to reduce me to my duſt;
 Deſirous to reſign and render back
 All I receiv'd; unable to perform 750
 Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
 The good I ſought not. To the loſs of that,
 Sufficient penalty, why haſt thou added
 The ſenſe of endleſs woes? Inexplicable
 Thy juſtice ſeems; yet, to ſay truth, too late 755
 I thus conteſt; then ſhould have been refus'd
 Thoſe terms, whatever, when they were propos'd:
 Thou didſt accept them: wilt thou enjoy the
 good,
 Then cavil the conditions? and, though God
 Made thee without thy leave, what if thy ſon
 Prove diſobedient; and, reprov'd, retort, 761

Ver. 743. ————— from my clay

To mould me Man?] *Job xxxiii. 6.* "I alſo am
 formed out of the clay." BOWLE.

Or from *Iſaiab's* animated expoſtulation, xlv. 9. "Shall the
 clay ſay to him that faſhioneth it, What makeſt thou?"

Ver. 758. Thou *didſt* &c.] The change of *perſons*, ſome-
 times ſpeaking of himſelf in the *fiſt*, and ſometimes to himſelf
 in the *ſecond*, is very remarkable in this ſpeech; as well as the
 change of paſſions. And in like manner he ſpeaks ſometimes of
 God, and ſometimes to God. NEWTON.

“ Wherefore didst thou beget me ? I sought it not : ”

Wouldst thou admit for his contempt of thee
That proud excuse ? yet him not thy election,
But natural necessity, begot. 765

God made thee of choice his own, and of his own
To serve him ; thy reward was of his grace ;
Thy punishment then justly is at his will.

Be it so, for I submit ; his doom is fair,
That dust I am, and shall to dust return : 770

O welcome hour whenever ! Why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'd on this day ? Why do I overlive ?

Why am I mock'd with death, and lengthen'd out
To deathless pain ? How gladly would I meet 775
Mortality my sentence, and be earth

Insensible ! How glad would lay me down
As in my mother's lap ! There I should rest,

Ver. 773. *Fix'd on this day ?*] For God had said, *In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die*, Gen. ii. 17. But it may be questioned whether it was now *this day* ; for the night of this day is mentioned before in v. 342, and the sun's rising is taken notice of in v. 329 : But Milton is not always very exact in marking the time ; he neglects those little things for greater beauties. NEWTON.

Ver. 778. *As in my mother's lap !*] Thus, in B. xi. 536.

————— “ till, like ripe fruit, thou drop

“ Into thy mother's lap—”

The phrase is used by Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* v. vii. 9.

————— “ on their mother Earth's deare lap did lie.”

And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
 Would thunder in my ears; no fear of worse 780
 To me, and to my offspring, would torment me
 With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
 Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die;
 Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of Man
 Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish 785
 With this corporeal clod; then, in the grave,
 Or in some other dismal place, who knows

And by Beaumont and Fletcher, *Little Fr. Lawyer*, A. i. S. i.

"Upon our *mother's lap*, the *Earth* that bred us."

Gray, in his *Elegy*, perhaps remember'd Milton:

"Here rests his head upon the *lap of Earth*."

Ibid. ————— *There I should rest,*

And sleep secure; &c.] There are some resemblances

in this pathetick speech to those of *Job*, in the third chapter.

Ver. 779. ————— *his dreadful voice no more*

Would thunder in my ears;] Perhaps suggested also by *Job* xxxvii. 5. "God thundereth marvellously with his voice."

Ver. 783. ————— *lest all I cannot die;*] A like expression in Horace, *Od.* III. xxx. 6. "Non omnis moriar."

NEWTON.

So, in Æschylus, *Prom. Vinc.* v. 1061. ed. Schütz.

Πάντως ἐπὶ γ' οὐ θανάτῳσιν.

And compare Herrick's *Hesperides*, 1648. p. 165.

"Thou shalt not all die."

Ver. 784. — *that pure breath of life, the spirit of Man*
Which God inspir'd,] For "The Lord God

formed man out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and Man became a living soul," *Gen.* ii. 7. And Horace calls it "divinæ particulam auræ," *Sat.* II. ii. 79. NEWTON.

But I shall die a living death? O thought
 Horrid, if true! Yet why? It was but breath
 Of life that sinn'd; what dies but what had life
 And sin? The body properly hath neither. 791
 All of me then shall die: let this appease
 The doubt, since human reach no further knows.
 For though the Lord of all be infinite,
 Is his wrath also? Be it, Man is not so, 795
 But mortal doom'd. How can he exercise
 Wrath without end on Man, whom death must
 end?

Can he make deathless death? That were to make
 Strange contradiction, which to God himself
 Impossible is held; as argument 800
 Of weakness, not of power. Will he draw out,
 For anger's sake, finite to infinite,
 In punish'd Man, to satisfy his rigour,
 Satisfied never? That were to extend
 His sentence beyond dust and Nature's law; 805

Ver. 788. *But I shall die a living death?*] So, in *Samson Agon.* v. 100. "To live a life half dead, a *living death*." Where see the note.

Ver. 800. *Impossible is held; as argument*

Of weakness, not of power.] This is the doctrine of the Schoolmen: but, as it is here spoken in the person of Adam, we must suppose that it was *held* likewise by the Angels, of whom he might have learned it in discourse.

NEWTON.

Ver. 804. ————— *That were to extend*

His sentence beyond dust and nature's law;] Dr. Bentley proposes to read—"beyond *just* and Nature's law;" but

By which all causes else, according still
 To the reception of their matter, act ;
 Not to the extent of their own sphere. But say
 That death be not one stroke, as I suppos'd,
 Bereaving sense, but endless misery 810
 From this day onward ; which I feel begun
 Both in me, and without me ; and so last
 To perpetuity ;—Ay me ! that fear
 Comes thundering back with dreadful revolution

dust is the true reading. Part of the sentence pronounced upon Adam, B. x. 208, was this,

For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return.

Hence Adam here argues, that, for God to punish him after death, would be to *extend the sentence beyond dust*, beyond what he thought implied in the words, *thou shalt to dust return*. See also ver. 748, 1085, where Adam speaks of being reduced to dust, as the final end of him. PEARCE.

Ver. 806. *By which all causes else, &c.*] All other agents act in proportion to the *reception* or capacity of the subject matter, and not to the utmost extent of their own power. An allusion to another axiom of the schools: *Omne efficiens agit secundum vires recipientis, non suas*. NEWTON.

Ver, 813. ————— *that fear*

Comes thundering back with dreadful revolution

On my defenceless head ;] The thought is fine as

it is natural. The sinner may invent never so many arguments in favour of the annihilation and utter extinction of the soul ; but, after all his subterfuges and evasions, the fear of a future state and the dread of everlasting punishment will still pursue him ; he may put it off for a time, but it will return *with dreadful revolution* ; and, let him affect what serenity and gaiety he pleases, will notwithstanding, in the midst of it all, *come thundering back on his defenceless head*. NEWTON,

On my defenceless head ; both Death and I 815
 Are found eternal, and incorporate both ;
 Nor I on my part single ; in me all
 Posterity stands curs'd : Fair patrimony
 That I must leave ye, Sons ! O, were I able
 To waste it all myself, and leave ye none ! 820
 So disinherited, how would you bless
 Me, now your curse ! Ah, why should all man-
 kind,
 For one man's fault, thus guiltless be condemn'd,
 If guiltless ? But from me what can proceed,
 But all corrupt ; both mind and will deprav'd
 Not to do only, but to will the same 826
 With me ? How can they then acquitted stand
 In sight of God ? Him, after all disputes,

Ver. 815. ——— both *Death and I*

Are found eternal,] This is Dr. Bentley's emendation : It was before, " Both Death and I *am* found eternal ;" which he supposes to be an error of the press, though all editions patronise it. For all languages, he observes, agree, that when singular and plural are so joined, the latter must govern. I have therefore admitted into the text his correction.

Ver. 816. ——— and *incorporate both* ;] Lodged both together in one mortal body, as St. Paul says, *Rom. vii. 20.* " *Oh wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death ?*" HUME.

Ver. 817. *Nor I on my part single ; in me all*

Posterity stands curs'd :] And this curse was the *patrimony* which he was to leave his sons. The author had in view II *Esdr. vii. 48.* " *O thou Adam what hast thou done ? for though it was thou that sinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee.*" NEWTON.

Forc'd I absolve: all my evasions vain,
And reasonings, though through mazes, lead me
still 830

But to my own conviction: first and last
On me, me only, as the source and spring
Of all corruption, all the blame lights due;
So might the wrath! Fond wish! couldst thou
support

That burden, heavier than the earth to bear; 835
Than all the world much heavier, though divided
With that bad Woman? Thus, what thou desir'st,
And what thou fear'st, alike destroys all hope
Of refuge, and concludes thee miserable
Beyond all past example and future; 840
To Satan only like both crime and doom.
O Conscience! into what abyss of fears
And horrors hast thou driven me; out of which
I find no way, from deep to deeper plung'd!
Thus Adam to himself lamented loud, 845

Ver. 840. *Beyond all past example and future*;] As Adam is here speaking in great agonies of mind, he aggravates his own misery, and concludes it to be greater and worse than that of the fallen Angels, or all future men; as having in himself alone the source of misery for all his posterity; whereas both Angels and Men had only their own to bear. Satan was only like him, as being the ring-leader; and this added very much to his remorse as we read in B. i. 605. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *future*;] Dr. Newton notices the same accent in Fairfax's *Tasso*, c. xvii. st. 88.

“ But not by art or skill, of things *future*

“ Can the plaine troath revealed be and told.”

Through the still night; not now, as ere Man fell,
 Wholefome, and cool, and mild, but with black air
 Accompanied; with damps, and dreadful gloom;
 Which to his evil conscience represented
 All things with double terrour: On the ground 850
 Outstretch'd he lay, on the cold ground; and oft

Ver. 846. *Through the still night,*] We can hardly suppose this to be the night immediately after the Fall; for *that night* Satan overheard Adam and Eve discoursing together, ver. 341.

————— “ return’d
 “ *By night*, and listening where the hapless pair
 “ Sat in their sad discourse, and various plaint,
 “ Thence gather’d his own doom;”

and the next morning, *while the sun in Aries rose*, ver. 329, he met Sin and Death in their way to earth; they discourse together, and it was after Sin and Death were arrived in Paradise, that the Almighty made that speech from ver. 616, to ver. 641; and, after that, the Angels are ordered to make the changes in nature: so that this, we conceive, must be some other night than that immediately after the Fall. NEWTON.

Ver. 850. ————— *on the ground*
Outstretch'd he lay, on the cold ground;] See
 Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iii. iv. 53.

“ The *cold earth* was his couch.”

Again, vi. iv. 40.

“ On the *cold ground* maugre himself he threw.”

And Drayton, *Muses Elyz.* Nymph. iv.

“ Is the *cold ground* become thy bed?”

Ver. 854. ————— *Why comes not Death,*—
But Death comes not at call,] Sophocles, *Philoct.*
 v. 793.

ὦ Θάνατε, Θάνατε, πῶς αἶν καλέμινος
 οὔτω κατ’ ἡμᾶς, οὐ δύνῃ μολεῖν ποτέ; NEWTON.

Curs'd his creation ; Death as oft accus'd
 Of tardy execution, since denounc'd
 The day of his offence. Why comes not Death,
 Said he, with one thrice-acceptable stroke 855
 To end me ? Shall Truth fail to keep her word,
 Justice Divine not hasten to be just ?
 But Death comes not at call ; Justice Divine
 Mends not her slowest pace for prayers or cries.
 O woods, O fountains, hillocks, dales, and
 bowers ! 860
 With other echo late I taught your shades
 To answer, and rebound far other song.—

See also Spenser's *Daphnida*, v. 355.

“ But Heavens refuse to hear a wretch's cry,

“ And cruel *Death* doth scorn to *come at call*.”

Ver. 859. ——— *her slowest pace*] “ *Pede Pœna claudo*,”
 Hor. *Od.* III. ii. 32. The most beautiful passages commonly
 want the fewest notes : And, for the beauties of this passage, we
 are sure, the reader must not only perceive, but really feel, them,
 if he has any feeling at all. Nothing in all the ancient tragedies
 is more moving and pathetick. NEWTON.

Ver. 860. *O woods, O fountains, hillocks, dales, and bowers,*
With other echo late I taught your shades
To answer, and rebound far other song.] Alluding
 to part of Adam's morning hymn, B. v. 202.

“ Witness if I be silent, morn or even,

“ To hill, or valley, fountain, or fresh shade,

“ Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.”

THE

Fenton proposes, strangely enough, to read, instead of *hillocks*,
 “ hills, rocks,” v. 860. The address in this line, is after the
 manner of the Italian poets. Thus Petrarch. *Canz.* viii. parte
 prima.

Whom thus afflicted when sad Eve beheld,
 Desolate where she sat, approaching nigh,
 Soft words to his fierce passion she assay'd: 865
 But her with stern regard he thus repell'd.

Out of my fight, thou Serpent! That name best
 Befits thee with him leagu'd, thyself as false
 And hateful; nothing wants, but that thy shape,
 Like his, and colour serpentine, may show 870
 Thy inward fraud; to warn all creatures from thee
 Henceforth; lest that too heavenly form, pre-
 tended

To hellish falsehood, snare them! But for thee

“ O poggi, o valli, o fiumi, o selve, o campi,
 “ O testimon della mia grave vita, &c.”

See also *Canzon.* del Giustiniano, 1620. p. 320.

“ O monte, o prato, o fonte, o erbe, o fiori,
 “ O testimonii del mio foco acerbo, &c.”

Ver. 872. ———— *lest that too heavenly form, &c.*] It is highly probable, that Milton, in this speech of Adam's, consulted Swetnam's "Arraignment of lewd, idle, &c. women," printed in 1615. The passage, *That too heavenly form, pretended to hellish falsehood*, is an antithesis exactly similar and almost in the same words with what occurs in p. 4 of this work: "For a woman that hath a faire face, it is ever matched with a cruel heart, and her heavenly lookes with hellish thoughts." BOWLE.

Ibid. ———— pretended

To hellish falsehood,] *Pretended* to signifies here, as in the Latin tongue, *held* or *placed before*: So we have in Virgil, *Georg.* i. 270. "Segeti prætere sepe;" and "Prætereque sub arva," *Æn.* vi. 60. So Pliny, in his *Epistles*, Lib. i. Ep. xvi. "Nec desidæ nostræ præteramus alienam." PEARCE.

Milton himself explains this phrase, p. 809. Tol. Edit. "But ecclesiastical is ever pretended to political." RICHARDSON.

I had persisted happy; had not thy pride
 And wandering vanity, when least was safe, 875
 Rejected my forewarning, and disdain'd
 Not to be trusted; longing to be seen,
 Though by the Devil himself; him overweening
 To over-reach; but, with the serpent meeting,
 Fool'd and beguil'd; by him thou, I by thee, 880
 To trust thee from my side; imagin'd wise,
 Constant, mature, proof against all assaults;
 And understood not all was but a show,
 Rather than solid virtue; all but a rib
 Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears, 885
 More to the part sinister, from me drawn;

Ver. 883. *And understood not*] The construction is, *I was fool'd and beguil'd by thee, and understood not &c.* NEWTON.

Ver. 884. ————— *all but a rib*

Crooked by nature,] Let us hear Swetnam, speaking of Women — “Hee [Moses] also saith, that they were made of the ribbe of a man, and *that* their froward nature sheweth; for a *ribbe* is a *crooked thing*, good for nothing else; and women are crooked by nature.” p. 1. BOWLE.

Ver. 886. *More to the part sinister,*] 'Tis part of the direction of the matrimonial office in the Sarum Missal — “*Vir autem stat a dextris mulieris, Mulier autem a sinistris viri: Causa est, quia formata fuit ex costa sinistri lateris Adæ.*” See Nicholls on the Common Prayer, Add: Notes, p. 61.

To this may be added what Alcimus Avitus says of the Almighty's formation of the woman, lib. i. ver. 156.

————— “*costarum ex ossibus, unam*

“*Subducit lævo lateri.*”

So also Cervantes, Don Quixote, P. i. c. xxxiii. “*Infundiò Dios sueño en Adan, y que estando durmiendo, le sacò una costilla del lado siniestro, de la qual formò à nuestra madre Eva.*”

BOWLE.

Well if thrown out, as supernumerary
To my just number found. O! why did God,

Ver. 887. *Well if thrown out,*] Dr. Newton observes, that some writers have been of opinion that Adam had *thirteen* ribs on the left side, one more than his *just number*; and that from this *supernumerary* rib God formed Eve: Hence Adam is made to say, "It was well if this rib was thrown out, &c."

Ver. 888. ————— *O! why did God, &c.*] This thought was originally of Euripides, who makes Hippolytus in like manner expostulate with Jupiter, for not creating man without women. *Hippol.* v. 616.

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ, κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις κακόν,
Γυναικάς εἰς Φῶς ἤλκε κατάρκισας;
Εἰ γὰρ βρόττειον ἤθειλας σπείραι γένος,
Οὐκ ἐκ γυναικῶν χρὴ παρασχίσθαι τόδε. κ. τ. λ.

Jafon talks in the same strain in the *Medea*, v. 573, &c. And such sentiments as these, we suppose, procured Euripides the name of *The woman-bater*. Ariosto, however, has ventured upon the same in Rhodomont's invective against women, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxvii. ft. 120.

"Perche fatto non ha l' alma Natura
Che senza te potesse nascer l' uomo,
Come s' inesta per umana cura
L'un sopra l' altro il pero, il forbo, e 'l pomo?"

Nor are similar examples wanting among our English authors. Sir Thomas Brown, in the second part of his *Religio Medici*, sect. 9, has something very curious to this purpose, which, no doubt, Milton had read, that work having been first published in 1642. Shakspeare also makes Posthumus cry out, in resentment of Imogen's behaviour, *Cymbeline*, A. ii. S. v.

"Is there no way for men to be, but women
Must be half-workers?" NEWTON.

Misogynos, in the comedy of Swetnam, arraigned by women, has this reflexion, A. i. S. ii. edit. 1620.

Creator wife, that peopled highest Heaven
 With Spirits masculine, create at last 890
 This novelty on earth, this fair defect
 Of nature, and not fill the world at once
 With Men, as Angels, without feminine ;
 Or find some other way to generate
 Mankind ? This mischief had not then befall'n,
 And more that shall befall ; innumerable 896
 Disturbances on earth through female snares,
 And strait conjunction with this sex : for either
 He never shall find out fit mate, but such

“ Happy were man, had woman never bin.

“ Why did not Nature iniuse the gift of procreation

“ In man alone, without the helpe of woman,

“ Even as we see one seed produce another ?”

Trivet, in his *Annals*, makes mention of a certain heretick Amalricus, “ qui asseruit, quòd, si homo non peccâisset, in duplicem sexum partitus non fuisset, nec generâisset ; sed eo modo, quo *Angeli* multiplicati sunt, multiplicati fuissent et homines,” p. 164. BOWLE.

Ver. 898. ————— for either

He never shall find out fit mate, &c.] The complaints, which Adam makes of the disasters of love, may be compared with what Shakspeare's Lyfander says in the *Midf. N. Dream*, A. i. S. i.

“ The course of true love never did run smooth :

“ But, either it was different in blood ;

“ Or else misgraffed, in respect of years ;

“ Or else it stood upon the choice of friends : &c.”

NEWTON.

I have often thought, it was a great pity that Adam's speech had not ended where these lines begin. The sense is quite complete without them ; and they seem much fitter for a digressional

As some misfortune brings him, or mistake; 900
 Or whom he wishes most shall feldom gain
 Through her perverseness, but shall see her gain'd
 By a far worse; or, if she love, withheld
 By parents; or his happiest choice too late
 Shall meet, already link'd and wedlock-bound 905
 To a fell adversary, his hate or shame:
 Which infinite calamity shall cause
 To human life, and household peace confound.

He added not, and from her turn'd; but Eve,
 Not so repuls'd, with tears that ceas'd not flowing
 And tresses all disorder'd, at his feet 911
 Fell humble; and, embracing them, besought
 His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.

Forfake me not thus, Adam! witness Heaven

observation of the author's, such as his panegyrick on marriage, than to be put into the mouth of Adam, who could not very naturally be supposed at that time to foresee so very circumstantially the inconveniences attending our *strait conjunction with this sex*, as he expresses it. THYER.

Mr. Hayley thinks, that the poet, in this enumeration of the miseries which should arise from woman, might allude to the rejection of his addresses from a lady with whom, during his first wife's disobedience, he is supposed to have been deeply enamoured; and whom, agreeably to his doctrine of divorce, he would probably have led, had she been "nothing loth," to the altar. But the lady, it seems, "scrupled" to accept his offer "against her better knowledge:" She knew he was united to another; or, as he himself says, "*already link'd and wedlock-bound to a fell adversary.*" He might therefore now call to mind the "*meeting of his happiest choice too late.*"

Ver. 914. *Forfake me not thus, &c.*] Mr. Stillingfleet here refers to the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, where Philoctetes earnestly implores Neoptolemus not to leave him in the island:

What love sincere, and reverence in my heart 915
 I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
 Unhappily deceiv'd! Thy suppliant
 I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave me not,
 Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
 Thy counsel, in this uttermost distress, 920
 My only strength and stay: Forlorn of thee,
 Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
 While yet we live, scarce one short hour perhaps,
 Between us two let there be peace; both joining,
 As join'd in injuries, one enmity 925

————— μὴ λήψης μ' οὕτω μόνον
 "Ερμῶν ἐν κακοῖσι τοῖσδ' οἷσι δ' ὄρας ———
 Πείσθῃτι· προσπίνῃ σε γόισι, καὶ περ ὦν
 'Ακράτως ὁ πλήμων χυλός· ἀλλὰ μὴ μ' ἀφῆς
 "Ερμῶν οὕτω χωρὶς ἀνθρώπων σείεσθαι.

Ver. 916. ——— and unweeting have offended,] Un-
 knowing. So in *Par. Reg.* B. i. 126.

" But, contrary, *unweeting* he fulfill'd
 " The purpos'd counsel."

See also *Samf. Agon.* v. 1680. It is a word of frequent oc-
 currence in Chaucer and Spenser.

Ver. 921. ——— forlorn of thee,
 Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?] Such
 is the pathetick language of Tecmessa to Ajax, Sophocl. *Ajax*,
 v. 520. edit. P. Stephan.

Τίς δ' ἄν' ἡμῶι γέναιτ' αἰ ἀντὶ σὺν πατρί; ;
 Τίς πολλῶν; ἐν σοὶ πᾶς ἔγωγ' ἐσώζομαι·
 'Αλλ' ἴσχει καὶ μὲ μνήσιν.

Ver. 925. ——— one enmity] There is some-
 thing not improbable, says Dr. Newton, in Bentley's reading,
 " in enmity;" but perhaps Milton put *one* in opposition to *both*;
both joining *one* enmity. I agree with Dr. Newton as to the con-

Against a foe by doom express assign'd us,
 That cruel Serpent: On me exercise not
 Thy hatred for this misery befall'n;
 On me already lost, me than thyself
 More miserable! Both have sinn'd; but thou 930
 Against God only; I against God and thee;
 And to the place of judgement will return,
 There with my cries importune Heaven; that all
 The sentence, from thy head remov'd, may light
 On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe; 935
 Me, me only, just object of his ire!

She ended weeping; and her lowly plight,
 Immoveable, till peace obtain'd from fault
 Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in Adam wrought
 Commiseration: Soon his heart relented 940

struction; but think with Mr. Stillingfleet that Milton purposely avoided to write "*in* enmity," on account of the two preceding words beginning with *in*, and the following word with *en*.

Ver. 926. *Against a foe by doom express assign'd us,*] For it was part of the sentence pronounced upon the Serpent, *Gen.* iii. 15.

NEWTON.

Ver. 931. *Against God only;*] *Psal.* li. 4. "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned." GILLIES.

Ver. 936. *Me, me only, just object*] The repetition of *me*, *me*, is like what is noticed in *B.* iii. 236; and like Abigail's speech to David, "Upon *me*, my Lord, upon *me* let this iniquity be," *1 Sam.* xxv. 24. Dr. Bentley would read, "Me, only me;" but, as the repetition is highly pathetick, Mr. Upton thinks the trochaick following the spondee makes the pathos more perceptible. NEWTON.

Ver. 940. ——— *Soon his heart relented*] This picture of Eve's distress, her submissive tender address to her husband,

Towards her, his life so late, and sole delight,
 Now at his feet submissive in distress;
 Creature so fair his reconciliation seeking,
 His counsel, whom she had displeas'd, his aid:
 As one disarm'd, his anger all he lost, 945
 And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her soon.

Unwary, and too desirous, as before,
 So now of what thou know'st not, who desir'st
 The punishment all on thyself; alas!
 Bear thine own first, ill able to sustain 950
 His full wrath, whose thou feel'st as yet least part,
 And my displeasure bear'st so ill. If prayers

and his generous reconciliation to her, are extremely beautiful, I had almost said beyond any thing in the whole poem; and that reader must have a very sour and unfriendly turn of mind, whose heart does not *relent* with Adam's, and melt into a sympathising commiseration towards the mother of mankind; so well has Milton here followed Horace's advice,

——— “ Si vis me flere, dolendum est
 “ Primum ipsi tibi ——”

Milton with great depth of judgment observes in his *Apology for Smeatymnus*, that “ *he, who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition of the best and honourablest things;—and have in himself the experience and practice of all that which is praise-worthy:*” Of the truth of which observation he himself is, I think, a shining instance in this charming scene now before us; since there is little room to doubt but that the particular beauties of it are owing to an interview of the same nature which he had with his own wife, and that he is only here describing those tender and generous sentiments, which he then felt and *experienced*. THYER.

See the account of Milton's interview with his first wife, in his *Life*, vol. the first.

Could alter high decrees, I to that place
 Would speed before thee, and be louder heard,
 That on my head all might be visited ; 955
 Thy frailty and infirmer sex forgiven,
 To me committed, and by me expos'd.
 But rise;—let us no more contend, nor blame
 Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere ; but strive
 In offices of love, how we may lighten 960
 Each other's burden, in our share of woe ;
 Since this day's death denounc'd, if aught I see,
 Will prove no sudden, but a slow-pac'd, evil ;
 A long day's dying, to augment our pain ;
 And to our seed (O hapless seed !) deriv'd. 965
 To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, replied.
 Adam, by sad experiment I know
 How little weight my words with thee can find,
 Found so erroneous ; thence by just event
 Found so unfortunate : Nevertheless, 970
 Restor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place
 Of new acceptance, hopeful to regain
 Thy love, the sole contentment of my heart
 Living or dying, from thee I will not hide
 What thoughts in my unquiet breast are risen, 975
 Tending to some relief of our extremes,
 Or end ; though sharp and sad, yet tolerable,

Ver. 976. *Tending to some relief of our extremes,
 Or end ;*] Adam had said before, that the *death*
denounc'd upon them, as far as he could *see*, would *prove no sudden*
but a slow-pac'd evil, a long day's dying, and would likewise be
deriv'd to their posterity. Eve therefore proposes, to prevent

As in our evils, and of easier choice.
 If care of our descent perplex us most,
 Which must be born to certain woe, devour'd 980
 By Death at last; and miserable it is
 To be to others cause of misery,
 Our own begotten, and of our loins to bring
 Into this curst world a woeful race,
 That after wretched life must be at last 985
 Food for so foul a monster; in thy power
 It lies, yet ere conception to prevent
 The race unblest, to being yet unbegot.
 Childless thou art, childless remain: so Death

its being *deriv'd* to their posterity, that they should resolve to *remain childless*; or, if they found it difficult to do so, that then, to prevent a *long day's dying* to themselves and seed at once, they should *make short* and destroy themselves. The former method she considers as *some relief of their extremes*, the latter as the *end*. And, as Dr. Greenwood observes, Milton might possibly take the hint of putting these proposals into the mouth of Eve, from Job's wife attempting to persuade her husband in his afflictions to *curse God and die*. Job ii. 9, 10. NEWTON.

Ver. 978. *As in our evils,*] That is, considering the excess of evil to which we are reduced; an elegant Latin use of the word *As*. Cic. *Epist. Fam.* iv. 9. "Nam adhuc, et factum tuum probatur, et, *ut in tali re*, etiam fortuna laudatur." xii. 2. "Non nihil, *ut in tantis malis*, est profectum;" that is, considering our ill situation. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 981. ———— *and miserable it is &c.*] With these words a parenthesis commences, which comes down to *so foul a monster*.

Ver. 989. *Childless thou art, childless remain:*] It is a strange mistake in some editions, and especially in Milton's own, where this imperfect verse is printed as a whole verse, and the words

Shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two 990
 Be forc'd to satisfy his ravenous maw.
 But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
 Conversing, looking, loving, to abstain
 From love's due rites, nuptial embraces sweet ;
 And with desire to languish without hope, 995
 Before the present object languishing
 With like desire ; which would be misery
 And torment less than none of what we dread ;
 Then, both ourselves and feed at once to free
 From what we fear for both, let us make short,—
 Let us seek Death ;—or, he not found, supply 1001
 With our own hands his office on ourselves :
 Why stand we longer shivering under fears,
 That show no end but death, and have the power,
 Of many ways to die the shortest choosing, 1005
 Destruction with destruction to destroy ?—

so Death, wanting to complete the line, are added to the next line, which is thereby made as much too long as this is too short.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1001. *Let us seek Death ;—or, he not found, supply
 With our own hands &c.*] Eve's speech, as Dr. Gillies remarks, breathes the language of despair ; Adam's, the sentiments of a mind enlightened and encouraged by the word of God.

Ver. 1004. ————— *and have the power,
 Of many ways to die the shortest choosing,
 Destruction with destruction to destroy ?*] So these verses are pointed in Milton's own editions ; and the construction is this, *And have the power to destroy destruction with destruction, choosing the shortest of many ways to die.* Fenton and Dr. Bentley have taken away the comma after *power*, and have put the one

She ended here, or vehement despair
 Broke off the rest; so much of death her thoughts
 Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks with pale.
 But Adam, with such counsel nothing sway'd, 1010
 To better hopes his more attentive mind
 Labouring had rais'd; and thus to Eve replied.

a comma, and the other a semicolon, after *to die*: But *of many ways to die* is not to be joined in construction with *the power*, but with *the shortest*: And this makes better sense and grammar than can be with any other punctuation. NEWTON.

Mr. Stillingfleet admits the same grammatical construction; but thinks that the inversion is forced and obscure, and that the following punctuation might render the passage more agreeable to Milton's manner:

————— “and have the power
 “Of many ways to die? the shortest choosing,
 “Destruction with destruction to destroy —”

The rest broken off, as the poet immediately says, v. 1008. Where, to fill up the sentence, “*What binders*,” or the like, may be understood: This breaking off at the horror of her proposal is very natural, and is not without example. See B. xi. 285.

Ver. 1007. *She ended here*, —————

————— *so much of death her thoughts*
Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks with pale.]

Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 499.

“*Hæc effata flet: pallor simul occupat ora.*” JORTIN.

Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 644.

————— “*maculisque trementes*
 “*Interfusa genas, et pallida morte futurâ.*”

And Lucan, vii. 130.

————— “*Multorum pallor in ore*
 “*Mortis venturæ est, facièsque simillima fato.*” HUME.

Ver. 1011. ————— *his more attentive mind*] Attending more to what had passed, *calling to mind with heed their sentence*, as it is ver. 1030. NEWTON.

Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
To argue in thee something more sublime
And excellent, than what thy mind contemns; 1015
But self-destruction therefore sought, refutes
That excellence thought in thee; and implies,
Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret
For loss of life and pleasure overlov'd.
Or if thou covet death, as utmost end 1020
Of misery, so thinking to evade
The penalty pronounc'd; doubt not but God
Hath wiselier arm'd his vengeful ire, than so
To be forestall'd; much more I fear lest death,
So snatch'd, will not exempt us from the pain 1025
We are by doom to pay; rather, such acts
Of contumacy will provoke the Highest
To make death in us live: Then let us seek
Some safer resolution, which methinks
I have in view, calling to mind with heed 1030
Part of our sentence, that thy seed shall bruise
The Serpent's head; piteous amends! unless
Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand foe,
Satan; who, in the serpent, hath contriv'd
Against us this deceit: To crush his head 1035
Would be revenge indeed! which will be lost
By death brought on ourselves, or childless days
Resolv'd, as thou propos'st; so our foe
Shall 'scape his punishment ordain'd, and we

Ver. 1024. *To be forestall'd;]* *Prevented.* See Mr. Warton's
note on *Comus*, v. 285.

Instead shall double ours upon our heads. 1040
No more be mention'd then of violence
Against ourselves ; and wilful barrenness,
That cuts us off from hope ; and favours only
Rancour and pride, impatience and despite,
Reluctance against God and his just yoke 1045
Laid on our necks. Remember with what mild
And gracious temper he both heard, and judg'd,
Without wrath or reviling ; we expected
Immediate dissolution, which we thought
Was meant by death that day ; when lo ! to thee
Pains only in child-bearing were foretold, 1051
And bringing forth ; soon recompens'd with joy,
Fruit of thy womb : On me the curse aslope
Glanc'd on the ground ; with labour I must earn
My bread ; what harm ? Idleness had been
worse ;
My labour will sustain me ; and, lest cold 1056
Or heat should injure us, his timely care
Hath, unbefought, provided ; and his hands
Cloth'd us unworthy, pitying while he judg'd ;
How much more, if we pray him, will his ear
Be open, and his heart to pity incline, 1061
And teach us further by what means to shun
The inclement seasons, rain, ice, hail, and snow ?
Which now the sky, with various face, begins
To show us in this mountain ; while the winds

Ver. 1054. *Glanc'd on the ground ;*] The quibble here is insufferable. WARBURTON.

Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful
locks 1066

Of these fair spreading trees; which bids us seek
Some better shroud, some better warmth to cherish
Our limbs benumm'd, ere this diurnal star
Leave cold the night, how we his gather'd beams
Reflected may with matter fere foment; 1071

Ver. 1066. ——— shattering the graceful locks] *Shattering* is an excellent word, and very expressive of the sense, *shaking* or *brecking to pieces*; and etymologists derive it of the Belgick *schetteren*. Milton had used it before, in his *Lycidas*,

“ *Shatter* your leaves before the mellowing year.”

Locks of trees is a Latinism: Hor. *Od.* iv. vii. 2. “ *Arboribusque comæ.*” NEWTON.

Locks of trees is of the old English School of Poesy. Thus in Nicolls's *Cuckow*, 1607, p. 4.

“ The loftie trees, whose leaue *lockes* did shake.”

Again, in *The Whipping of the Satyre*, an old poem, by W. I. 12mo. 1601.

————— “ *shadie mirtild trees* —

“ Whose leafy *locks*, for more eye-pleasing view,

“ The heauens embalmed with ambrosiall dew.”

Compare the *Mir. for Magistrates*, 1610, p. 256.

“ The sturdie *trees* so *shattered* with the showers.”

Ver. 1069. ——— *this diurnal star*] *The star of day*, the sun, as in *Lycidas*, “ So sinks the *day-star* in the ocean bed.” So that this is spoken as if it was now *day*, whereas it was *night* a little before. NEWTON.

There is here an allusion perhaps, as Mr. Stillingfleet observes, to Homer, *Il.* viii. 485.

Ἐν δ' ἔπι σ' ὤκειαν ἄλαμπρόν φῶς ἡλίοιο,

Ἐλκεν ὕκτα μέλαινα ἐπὶ ζῆδωρον ἄρεσιν.

Ver. 1071. ——— *with matter fere*] *Dry*, as in

Or, by collision of two bodies, grind
 The air attrite to fire; as late the clouds
 Jostling, or push'd with winds, rude in their
 shock,
 Tine the slant lightning; whose thwart flame,
 driven down, 1075
 Kindles the gummy bark of fir or pine;
 And sends a comfortable heat from far,
 Which might supply the fun: Such fire to use,
 And what may else be remedy or cure
 To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought,
 He will instruct us praying, and of grace 1081

Lycidas, "With ivy never-*ferè*;" and, in his second *Psalm*,
 "fuel *ferè*." So, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Isl.* c. vii. st. 38,
 "*ferè* wood." The word occurs often in Chaucer and Spenser.

Ibid. ————— *with matter ferè foment*;] According
 to Virgil's exact description, *Æn.* i. 175.

"Suscipitque ignem foliis, atque arida circum

"Nutrimenta dedit, rapuitque in fomite flammam."

HUME.

Ver. 1072. *Or, by collision of two bodies, grind*
The air attrite to fire; as late the clouds &c.] Milton
 had Lucretius here in mind, and plainly alludes to his account of
 the origin of fire, lib. v. 1091, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 1075. *Tine the slant lightning*;] To *tine* is derived
 from the Saxon *tynan*, to light, to kindle; whence also we have
 the word *tinder*. NEWTON.

Thus, in P. Fletcher's *Locusts*, 1627, p. 32.

"Oh! why should earthly lights then scorn to *tine*

"Their lamps alone at that first sunne divine?"

Ver. 1076. ————— or *pine*;] Fenton and
 Bentley read "*and pine*."

Beseeching him ; so as we need not fear
 To pass commodiously this life, sustain'd
 By him with many comforts, till we end
 In dust, our final rest and native home. 1085
 What better can we do, than, to the place
 Repairing where he judg'd us, prostrate fall
 Before him reverent ; and there confess
 Humbly our faults, and pardon beg ; with tears
 Watering the ground, and with our sighs the
 air 1090
 Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
 Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek ?
 Undoubtedly he will relent, and turn
 From his displeasure ; in whose look serene,
 When angry most he seem'd and most severe, 1095
 What else but favour, grace, and mercy, shone ?

Ver. 1089. ————— *with tears*
Watering the ground,] Virgil, *Æn.* xi. 191.
 “ Spargitur et tellus lacrymis.”

Ver. 1092. ————— *and humiliation meek ?]* I believe he gave it, “ And humiliation *meet* ;” and so in the last verse of this book. But note, that the last seven verses, being a repetition of the former, mood and tense only of the verbs being changed, is an imitation of Homer and Virgil ; and shows an assurance in the poet, that what was once well said will bear repeating ; and has the true air both of simplicity and grandeur.

BENTLEY.

Dr. Bentley believes that Milton gave it *meet* : But I believe not. He seems to think that “ *meek humiliation*” is tautology ; but *humiliation* here is not *humility* ; it is the act of humbling themselves before God. We have “ *meek submission*,” B. xii. 597.

PEARCE.

So spake our father penitent ; nor Eve
Felt less remorse : they, forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judg'd them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent ; and both confess'd 1100
Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd ; with
tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

THE
ELEVENTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Son of God presents to his Father the prayers of our first parents now repenting, and intercedes for them : God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in Paradise ; sends Michael with a band of Cherubim to dispossess them ; but first to reveal to Adam future things : Michael's coming down. Adam shows to Eve certain ominous signs ; he discerns Michael's approach ; goes out to meet him : the Angel denounces their departure. Eve's Lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits : The Angel leads him up to a high hill ; sets before him in vision what shall happen till the Flood.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XI.

THUS they, in lowliest plight, repentant
 stood
 Praying; for from the mercy-seat above
 Preventing grace descending had remov'd

Ver. 1. ————— *repentant stood*

Praying;] Dr. Bentley thinks that the author intended it “repentant *kneel’d*,” because it is said in v. 150, and in B. x. 1099, that they *kneel’d* and *fell prostrate*: But *stood* here has no other sense than that of the verb substantive *were*. So, in B. ii. 55. “*Stand* in arms” signifies “*are* in arms.” In the same sense *stetit* and *is-tans* are often used by the Latins and Greeks. See also B. ii. 56. PEARCE.

Stood here, and in v. 14, has no relation to the posture, but to the act itself, and the continuance of it. “*Standing in arms*” is not only being armed, but being in arms with a determined resolution not to lay them down without endeavouring to attain some end proposed. Thus “*stood praying*” means, not only that they prayed or were praying, but that they persevered in their devotions; and, as the Apostle expresses it, “*continued instant in prayer*,” in the humble postures of sometimes *kneeling*, and sometimes *falling prostrate*. GREENWOOD.

Ver. 3. ————— *had remov’d*

The stony from their hearts,] In Becon’s *Pomaunder of Prayer*, in that “for a pure and cleane harte” there is this petition: “*Remove from me therefore, O heavenly Father, my leude, stony, stubborn &c. heart*,” v. ii. fol. 213. b. BOWLE.

The stony from their hearts, and made new flesh
 Regenerate grow instead; that sighs now breath'd
 Unutterable; which the Spirit of prayer 6
 Inspir'd, and wing'd for Heaven with speedier
 flight
 Than loudest oratory: Yet their port

Milton had better authority for the phrase he uses. For thus Ezekiel, "I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh," chap. xi. 19. See also chap. xxxvi. 26. And compare the strong expression of Zechariah, vii. 12. "They made their hearts as an adamant-stone."

Ver. 5. ———— *that sighs now breath'd*

Unutterable; which the Spirit &c.] Rom. viii. 26.

"Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: But the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered,"

HUME.

Ver. 8. ———— *Yet their port &c.] This yet refers so far back as to the first line. Thus they in lowliest plight repentant stood praying, YET their port not of mean suitors; all the intermediate lines being to be understood as in a parenthesis.*

Nor did their petition seem of less importance, than when the ancient pair so renowned in old fables, yet not so ancient a pair as Adam and Eve, Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha, in order to restore the race of mankind after the Deluge, stood devoutly praying before the shrine of Themis, the Goddess of Justice, who had the most famous oracle of those days. The poet could not have thought of a more apt similitude to illustrate his subject; and he has plainly fetched it from Ovid, Met. i. 318 &c.

Milton has been often censured for his frequent allusions to the heathen mythology, and for mixing fables with sacred truths: But it may be observed in favour of him, that what he borrows from the heathen mythology, he commonly applies only by way of similitude; and a similitude from thence may illustrate his subject as well as from any thing else, especially since it is one of the first things that we learn at school, and is made by the

Not of mean suitors ; nor important less
 Seem'd their petition, than when the ancient pair
 In fables old, less ancient yet than these, 11
 Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha, to restore
 The race of mankind drown'd, before the shrine
 Of Themis stood devout. To Heaven their
 prayers
 Flew up, nor miss'd the way, by envious winds
 Blown vagabond or frustrate: in they pass'd 16

ancients such an essential part of poetry, that it can hardly be separated from it ; and no wonder that Milton was ambitious of showing something of his reading in this kind, as well as in all other. NEWTON.

It may be added, that Milton resembled Bezalcel, who was to make the furniture of the tabernacle. Like him, he was endowed with extraordinary talents : and, like him, he employed Egyptian gold to embellish his work. GILLIES.

Ver. 14. ————— To Heaven their prayers

Flew up,] Compare Browne's *Brit. Pastorals*,

B. ii. S. iii.

“ Swift are the *prayers*, and of speedy haste,
 “ That *take their wing* from hearts so pure and chaste.”

And Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. xiii. st. 72.*

“ Tarde non furon già queste *preghiere*,
 “ Che derivar da giusto humil desio ;
 “ *Ma sen volaro al ciel pronte*, e leggiere,
 “ *Come pennuti angelli innanzi à Dio.*”

See also Mr. Warton's note on *Sonnet xiv. 10.*

Ver. 16. *Blown vagabond or frustrate:*] It is a familiar expression with the ancient poets, to say of such requests as are not granted, that they are dispersed and driven away by the

Dimensionless through heavenly doors; then clad
With incense, where the golden altar fum'd,

winds. See Virgil, *Æn.* xi. 794 &c. "By *envious* winds," as in Ovid, *Met.* x. 642.

"Detulit aura preces ad me non *invida* blandas."

NEWTON.

Ver. 17. *Dimensionless through heavenly doors;*] As these prayers were of a spiritual nature, not as matter that has dimensions, measure, and proportion, they passed through Heaven's gates without any obstruction. RICHARDSON.

As Heaven-gates are described (B. vii. 205, &c.) as *ever-during*, and *moving on golden hinges*, and *opening wide to let forth and let in the King of Glory*, it might be wondered how these prayers could pass through them without their opening, and for this reason I suppose the poet added the epithet *dimensionless*. And, as he glanced before at the Heathen manner of expression in saying that their prayers were not *by envious winds blown vagabond or frustrate*, so here he may intend a remote reflection upon that other notion of the Heathens contained in the fable of Menippus, who was taken up into Heaven; where Jupiter is represented as opening a trap-door, to hear the requests of mankind; and shutting it again, when he was unwilling to attend to any more petitions. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *then clad*

With incense, &c.] See *Psalms* cxli. 2. "Let my *prayer* be set forth before thee as *incense*." Christ, who is repeatedly called our *High-Priest* in the Epistle to the Hebrews, here sustains also the part assigned by St. John to the Angel, *Rev.* viii. 3, 4. "And another Angel came, and stood at the altar, having a *golden censer*; and there was given unto him much *incense*, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the *golden altar* which was before the throne: And the *smoke* of the *incense*, which came up with the prayers of the saints, *ascended up before God*."

These prayers are called "*odours*," *Rev.* v. 8. So the poet, "Fruits of more pleasing *savour*." Compare also *Ezek.* xx. 41. "I will accept you with your sweet *savour*."

By their great Interceffour, came in fight
Before the Father's throne : them the glad Son 20
Presenting, thus to intercede began.

See, Father, what first-fruits on earth are
sprung
From thy implanted grace in Man ; these sighs
And prayers, which in this golden censer, mix'd
With incense, I thy priest before thee bring ; 25
Fruits of more pleasing favour, from thy seed
Sown with contrition in his heart, than those
Which, his own hand manuring, all the trees
Of Paradise could have produc'd, ere fall'n
From innocence. Now therefore, bend thine ear
To supplication ; hear his sighs, though mute ; 31
Unskilful with what words to pray, let me
Interpret for him ; me, his advocate
And propitiation ; all his works on me,

Ver. 19. ———— *came in fight &c.*] Milton, in this allegorical description of the repentant prayers of our first parents, very much exceeds the two great masters of Italian poetry, Ariosto and Tasso ; who have attempted something in the same way. See Carlomagno's prayer in the former, cant. xiv. st. 73 and 74 ; and in the latter Raimond's prayer, cant. vii. st. 79, and Godfrey's, cant. xiii. st. 72. As the quotations would be too long, we only refer the reader to the places.

THYER.

Ver. 33. ———— *me, his advocate
And propitiation ;*] The construction of the whole passage is this, “ *Let me interpret for him unskilful with what words to pray for himself, me, his advocate and propitiation ;*” the very words of St. John, I Ep. ii. 1, 2. “ We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous ; and he is the propitiation for our sins.” NEWTON.

Good, or not good, ingraft ; my merit those 35
 Shall perfect, and for these my death shall pay.
 Accept me ; and, in me, from these receive
 The smell of peace toward mankind : let him live
 Before thee reconcil'd, at least his days
 Number'd, though sad ; till death, his doom,
 (which I 40

To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse,)
 To better life shall yield him ; where with me
 All my redeem'd may dwell in joy and bliss ;
 Made one with me, as I with thee am one.

To whom the Father, without cloud, serene.
 All thy request for Man, accepted Son, 46
 Obtain ; all thy request was my decree :
 But, longer in that Paradise to dwell,
 The law I gave to Nature him forbids :
 Those pure immortal elements, that know 50
 No gross, no unharmonious mixture foul,
 Eject him, tainted now ; and purge him off,
 As a distemper, gross, to air as gross,
 And mortal food ; as may dispose him best
 For dissolution wrought by sin, that first 55

Ver. 38. *The smell of peace toward mankind ;*] The peace-offering is frequently called *an offering of a sweet savour unto the Lord*. So, in *Levit. iii. 5*. HEYLIN.

Ver. 44. *Made one with me, as I with thee am one.*] *St. John xvii. 21, 22*. HUMF.

Ver. 52. *Eject him, tainted now ;*] Mr. Stillingfleet here refers to *Leviticus xviii. 25*. "The land is defiled : therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants."

Distemper'd all things, and of incorrupt
 Corrupted. I, at first, with two fair gifts
 Created him endow'd ; with happiness,
 And immortality : that fondly lost,
 This other serv'd but to eternize woe ; 69
 Till I provided death : so death becomes
 His final remedy ; and, after life,
 Tried in sharp tribulation, and refin'd
 By faith and faithful works, to second life,
 Wak'd in the renovation of the just, 65
 Refigns him up with Heaven and Earth re-
 new'd.

But let us call to synod all the Blest,
 Through Heaven's wide bounds : from them I will
 not hide

My judgements ; how with Mankind I proceed,
 As how with peccant Angels late they saw, 70
 And in their state, though firm, stood more con-
 firm'd.

He ended, and the Son gave signal high
 To the bright minister that watch'd ; he blew
 His trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps
 When God descended, and perhaps once more 75
 To sound at general doom. The angelick blast
 Fill'd all the regions : from their blissful bowers
 Of amarantine shade, fountain or spring,

Ver. 74. *His trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps &c.*] For
 the law was given on mount Oreb with " the noise of the
 trumpet," *Exod. xx. 18* ; and see *I Theff. iv. 16*. NEWTON.

By the waters of life, where'er they sat
 In fellowships of joy, the sons of light 80
 Hastened, resorting to the summons high;
 And took their seats: till from his throne supreme
 The Almighty thus pronounc'd his sovran will.

Ver. 79. *By the waters of life,*] Rev. xxii. 1. "A pure river of water of life, &c." See also Rev. vii. 17. GILLIES.

Ver. 80. *In fellowships of joy,*] So, in Drummond's *Poems*,
 "The fellowship of God's immortal train."

But see Dante, *Paradiso*, c. xxiv.

"O sodalizio eletto alla gran cerca

"Del benedetto Agnello, &c."

Compare also *Lycidas*, v. 178.

"There entertain him all the saints above,

"In solemn troops, and sweet societies."

Ver. 82. *And took their seats:*] Dr. Bentley says that, if the poet gave it thus, he had forgot himself; for he never makes the Angels to *sit* round the throne of God: But if he never did elsewhere, he has authority for doing so here. I know that it is a maxim with the Schoolmen, *Sola sedet Trinitas*, that only the three persons in the Trinity *sit*: but this is contrary to Scripture; for in Rev. iv. 4, and xi. 16, the four and twenty elders are described as *sitting on seats round about the throne*. There is no occasion then to read with the Doctor *and took their stand*: especially when it is considered that the idea of *taking suits* so much better with *seats* than *stand*. PEARCE.

The Angels are generally represented to be standing, or falling down, before the throne of God; because they are generally employed there in acts of praise and adoration. But here they are introduced in another character, called to synod, like a grand council, or to be as it were *assessours* with the Almighty, when he was to pronounce his decree on fallen man: and therefore the poet very properly says, *they took their seats*. And thus our Saviour tells the Apostles, *they shall sit upon twelve thrones* as his assessours, *judging the twelve tribes of Israel*. Mat. xix. 28.

GREENWOOD.

O Sons, like one of us Man is become
 To know both good and evil, since his taste 85
 Of that defended fruit ; but let him boast
 His knowledge of good lost, and evil got ;
 Happier ! had it suffic'd him to have known
 Good by itself, and evil not at all.

He forrows now, repents, and prays contrite, 90
 My motions in him ; longer than they move,
 His heart I know, how variable and vain,
 Self-left. Left therefore his now bolder hand
 Reach also of the tree of life, and eat,
 And live for ever, dream at least to live 95
 For ever, to remove him I decree,
 And send him from the garden forth to till
 The ground whence he was taken, fitter soil.

Michael, this my behest have thou in charge ;
 Take to thee from among the Cherubim 100
 Thy choice of flaming warriors, lest the Fiend,
 Or in behalf of Man, or to invade
 Vacant possession, some new trouble raise :

Ver. 84. *O Sons, &c.*] This whole speech is founded upon
Genesis iii. 22, 23, 24. NEWTON.

Ver. 86. *Of that defended fruit ;*] *Of that forbidden fruit.*
 See note on B. xii. 206.

Ver. 99. *Michael, this my behest have thou in charge ;*] Milton
 has with great judgement singled out *Michael* to receive this
 charge. It would not have been so proper for the *sociable spirit*
Raphael to have executed this order : but, as *Michael* was the
 principal Angel employed in driving the rebel Angels out of
 Heaven, so he was the most proper to expel our first parents also
 out of Paradise. NEWTON.

Haste thee, and from the Paradise of God
Without remorse drive out the sinful pair ; 105
From hallow'd ground the unholy ; and denounce
To them, and to their progeny, from thence
Perpetual banishment. Yet, lest they faint
At the sad sentence rigorously urg'd,
(For I behold them soften'd, and with tears 110
Bewailing their excess,) all terrour hide.
If patiently thy bidding they obey,
Dismiss them not disconsolate ; reveal
To Adam what shall come in future days,
As I shall thee enlighten ; intermix 115
My covenant in the Woman's seed renew'd ;
So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in
peace :

And on the east side of the garden place,
Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbs,
Cherubick watch ; and of a sword the flame 120
Wide-waving ; all approach far off to fright,
And guard all passage to the tree of life :
Lest Paradise a receptacle prove
To Spirits foul, and all my trees their prey ; 124
With whose stol'n fruit Man once more to delude.

He ceas'd ; and the arch-angelick Power pre-
par'd
For swift descent ; with him the cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim : four faces each

Ver. 128. ————— *four faces each &c.*] Dr.
Bentley throws out the greatest part of these verses and reads thus,

Had, like a double Janus ; all their shape
 Spangled with eyes more numerous than those 130
 Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drouse,
 Charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the pastoral reed
 Of Hermes, or his opiate rod. Mean while,
 To re-salute the world with sacred light,
 Leucothea wak'd ; and with fresh dews imbalmd

————— “ four *fac'd* were each
 “ And all their shape spangled with eyes.
 “ Mean while, &c.”

His chief objection is to the expression *more wakeful than to drouse* ; which (he says) is the same as more vocal than to be mute, more white than to be black. But the whole expression is, *more wakeful than to drouse, charm'd with Arcadian pipe, or opiate rod of Hermes*. When two such powerful causes of *drousing* are mentioned, there is great force in saying, that they were *more wakeful* than to be influenced by them. PEARCE.

Ezekiel says that *every one had four faces*, x. 14. The poet adds, *four faces each had, like a double Janus* ; Janus was a king in Italy, and is represented with two faces, to denote his great wisdom, looking upon things past and to come ; and the mention of a well-known image with two faces may help to give us the better idea of others with four. Ezekiel says x. 12. “ *And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about :*” The poet expresses it by a delightful metaphor, *all their shape spangled with eyes*, and then adds by way of comparison *more numerous than those of Argus*, a shepherd who had an hundred eyes, and *more wakeful than to drouse*, as his did, *charmed with Arcadian pipe, the pastoral reed*, that is the pastoral pipe made of reeds, as was that of *Hermes* or *Mercury*, who was employed by Jupiter to lull Argus asleep and kill him ; or *his opiate rod*, the caduceus of Mercury with which he could give sleep to whomsoever he pleased. It is an allusion to a celebrated story in Ovid, *Met.* i. 625, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 135. *Leucothea wak'd* ;] The *White Goddess* as the name in Greek imports ; the same with *Matuta* in Latin, as

The earth; when Adam and first matron Eve 136
 Had ended now their orisons, and found
 Strength added from above; new hope to spring
 Out of despair; joy, but with fear yet link'd;
 Which thus to Eve his welcome words renew'd.

Eve, easily may faith admit, that all 141
 The good which we enjoy, from Heaven descends;
 But, that from us aught should ascend to Heaven
 So prevalent as to concern the mind
 Of God high-blest, or to incline his will, 145
 Hard to belief may seem; yet this will prayer
 Or one short sigh of human breath, upborne
 Even to the feat of God. For since I fought
 By prayer the offended Deity to appease;
 Kneel'd, and before him humbled all my heart;
 Methought I saw him placable and mild, 151
 Bending his ear; persuasion in me grew
 That I was heard with favour; peace return'd
 Home to my breast, and to my memory

Cicero says, "*Leucothea* nominata a Græcis, *Matuta* habetur a nostris." Tusc. i. 12. And *Matuta* is the early morning that ushers in the Aurora rosy with the sun-beams, according to Lucretius, v. 655.

"Tempore item certo roseam *Matuta* per oras

"*Ætheris* Auroram desert, et lumina pandit."

And from *Matuta* is derived *Matutinus*, early in the morning. This is the last morning in the poem, the morning of the fatal day, wherein our first parents were expelled out of Paradise.

NEWTON.

Of the time taken up in the action of *Paradise Lost*, which Addison confines to ten days, and Dr. Newton enlarges to eleven, see the *Critique on the Poem* in the first volume.

His promise, that thy seed shall bruise our foe; 155
Which, then not minded in dismay, yet now
Assures me that the bitterness of death
Is past, and we shall live. Whence hail to thee,
Eve rightly call'd; mother of all mankind,
Mother of all things living, since by thee 160
Man is to live; and all things live for Man.

To whom thus Eve with sad demeanour meek.
Ill-worthy I such title should belong
To me transgressor; who, for thee ordain'd
A help, became thy snare; to me reproach 165
Rather belongs, distrust, and all dispraise:
But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
That I, who first brought death on all, am grac'd
The source of life; next favourable thou,

Ver, 157. *Assures me that the bitterness of death*

Is past,] Adam is made to talk in the language of Agag, I Sam. xv. 32. "And Agag said, *Surely the bitterness of death is past.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 159. *Eve rightly call'd, mother of all mankind,*] "And Adam called his wife's name *Eve*, because she was the mother of all living," Gen. iii. 20. He called her before *Ish*, Woman, because she was taken out of *Ish*, Man, Gen. ii. 23. "*Woman* is her name, of Man extracted," B. viii. 496. But now he denominates her *Eve*, or *Havah*, from a Hebrew word which signifies to *live*; in firm belief that God would make her the mother of all mankind, and of the Promised Seed particularly. Milton had called her Eve before, by way of anticipation. NEWTON.

Ver. 162. ——— *all things live for Man.*] "Dicamus de homine," says Zanchius, "cujus causâ reliqua omnia, præsertim vero visibilia, creata esse creduntur." *De operibus sex dierum*, edit. 1632, p. 602. Again, "Omnia hominis causâ facta et condita sunt," p. 604. BOWLE.

Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsaf'ft, 170
 Far other name deserving. But the field
 To labour calls us, now with sweat impos'd,
 Though after sleepless night ; for see ! the Morn,
 All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins
 Her rosy progress smiling : let us forth ; 175
 I never from thy side henceforth to stray,
 Where'er our day's work lies, though now en-
 join'd
 Laborious, till day droop ; while here we dwell,
 What can be toilsome in these pleasant walks ?
 Here let us live, though in fall'n state, content. 180
 So spake, so wish'd much-humbled Eve ; but
 Fate
 Subscrib'd not : Nature first gave signs, impress'd
 On bird, beast, air ; air suddenly eclips'd,
 After short blush of morn ; nigh in her sight

Ver. 174. ————— begins

Her rosy progress smiling :] Shakspeare, I *Hen.* IV.

A. iii. S. i.

————— “ the heavenly-harnes'd team

“ *Begins his golden progress* in the east.” NEWTON.

Ver. 182. Subscrib'd not :] That is, *offended* not, took not
 her part. So, in *Measure for Measure*, A. ii. S. iv.

“ Admit no other way to save his life,

“ As I *subscribe* not that.” UPTON.

So also, in Marlowe's *Lust's Dominion*, 1661.

“ *Subscribe* to his desires.” STEEVENS.

Ver. 184. ————— *nigh in her sight*] Dr. Bentley
 says, Milton gave it, “ nigh in *their* sight,” not in Eve's only,

The bird of Jove, stoop'd from his aery tour, 185
 Two birds of gayest plume before him drove ;
 Down from a hill the beast that reigns in woods,
 First hunter then, pursu'd a gentle brace,
 Goodliest of all the forest, hart and hind ;
 Direct to the eastern gate was bent their flight. 190
 Adam observ'd, and with his eye the chase
 Pursuing, not unmov'd, to Eve thus spake.

but in the sight of both. But it should rather be "in *her* sight" here, because it is said afterwards "Adam observ'd, &c."

NEWTON.

Ver. 185. *The bird of Jove, stoop'd from his aery tour,*] The bird of Jove, *Jovis ales*, the eagle. *Stoop'd* is a participle here, and a term of falconry. NEWTON.

The term is thus explained by Latham: "*Stooping* is when a hawke, being upon her wings at the height of her pitch, bendeth violently downe to strike the fowle, or any other prey." See Reed's *Old Pl.* vol. vii. 190. Dr. Johnson thinks that *tour* here is *tower*, elevation, high flight. Perhaps it is rather, as Hume has observed, a wheeling, such as birds make in their flight, from the French *tour*.

Ibid. *The bird of Jove, stoop'd from his aery tour,*
Two birds of gayest plume before him drove ;
Down from a hill the beast &c.] Such omens are not unusual in the poets. See Virgil, *Æn.* i. 393, and *Æn.* xii. 247. But these omens have a singular beauty here, as they show the change that is going to be made in the condition of Adam and Eve ; and nothing could be invented more apposite and proper for this purpose. An eagle pursuing two beautiful birds, and a lion chasing a fine hart and hind ; and both to the eastern gate of Paradise ; as Adam and Eve were to be driven out by the Angel at that gate. NEWTON.

The print, prefixed to the fifth scene of the fourth act of Andreini's *Adamo*, represents, as consequences of the Fall, beasts, and birds, destroying one another.

O Eve, some further change awaits us nigh,
Which Heaven, by these mute signs in Nature,
shows

Forerunners of his purpose; or to warn 195
Us, haply too secure, of our discharge
From penalty, because from death releas'd
Some days: how long, and what till then our life,
Who knows? or more than this, that we are dust,
And thither must return, and be no more? 200
Why else this double object in our sight
Of flight pursued in the air, and o'er the ground,
One way the self-same hour? why in the east
Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning-light
More orient in yon western cloud, that draws 205
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends, with something heavenly
fraught?

He err'd not; for by this the heavenly bands
Down from a sky of jasper lighted now

Ver. 204. *Darkness ere day's mid-course,*] Ovid, *Met.* i. 602.

"Et noctis faciem nebulas fecisse volucres

"Sub nitido mirata die." HUME.

There is a passage in *Isaiah* similar to Milton: "Make thy
shadow as the night in the midst of the noon-day," chap. xvi. 3.

BOWLE.

Ibid. ————— and *morning-light* &c.] I think
it would not be amiss to refer the curious reader to Marino's de-
scription of the descent of the three Goddesses upon Mount Ida,
Adon. c. ii. st. 67; which is a scene of the same sort with this,
and painted, I think, even in livelier colours than this of Mil-
ton's. THYER.

In Paradise, and on a hill made halt ; 210
 A glorious apparition, had not doubt
 And carnal fear that day dimm'd Adam's eye.
 Not that more glorious, when the Angels met
 Jacob in Mahanaim, where he saw
 The field pavilion'd with his guardians bright ; 215
 Nor that, which on the flaming mount appear'd
 In Dothan, cover'd with a camp of fire,
 Against the Syrian king, who to surprize
 One man, assassins-like, had levied war,
 War unproclaim'd. The princely Hierarch 220
 In their bright stand there left his Powers, to seize
 Possession of the garden ; he alone,
 To find where Adam shelter'd, took his way,

Ver. 213. *Not that more glorious, &c.*] That was not a more glorious apparition of Angels, which appeared to Jacob in Mahanaim, *Genesis* xxxii. 1, 2. Nor that, which appeared on the flaming mount in Dothan against the king of Syria, when he levied war against a single man, not like a generous enemy ; but, like a base assassin endeavoured to take him by surprize, namely Elifha, for having disclosed the designs of the king of Syria to the king of Israel, *II Kings* vi. 13, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 215. *The field pavilion'd with his guardians bright ;*] The *tented* field, alluding to the original meaning of *Mahanaim*, that is, “ two hosts or camps.” Shakspeare also uses *pavilion'd* for *tented*, as Mr. Bowle likewise observes, *A. i. S. ii.*

“ And lie *pavilion'd* in the fields of France.”

Ver. 220. *War unproclaim'd.*] The severe censure on this makes me fancy that Milton hinted at the war with Holland, which broke out in 1664, when we surprized and took the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, before war was proclaimed ; which the Whigs much exclaimed against. WARBURTON.

Not unperceiv'd of Adam ; who to Eve, 224
While the great visitant approach'd, thus spake.

Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
Of us will soon determine, or impose
New laws to be observ'd ; for I descry,
From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill,
One of the heavenly host ; and, by his gait, 230
None of the meanest ; some great Potentate
Or of the Thrones above ; such majesty
Invests him coming ! yet not terrible,
That I should fear ; nor sociably mild,
As Raphaël, that I should much confide ; 235
But solemn and sublime ; whom not to offend,
With reverence I must meet, and thou retire.

He ended ; and the Arch-Angel soon drew nigh,
Not in his shape celestial, but as man
Clad to meet man ; over his lucid arms 240
A military vest of purple flow'd,

Ver. 230. ————— and, by his gait,

None of the meanest ;] Milton often uses this expression, to denote the superiour rank of the person. Thus Eve “surpasses Delia's self in *gait*, and Goddess-like deport,” B. ix. 389. And the Prince of Hell is known “by his *gait*,” B. iv. 870. Compare Virgil, *Æn.* i. 405. “Et vera *incessu* patuit Dea.” It is also mentioned in *Ercū*, xix. 30, that “a man's *gait* shows what he is.” And in *King Lear*, Albany says to Edmund,

“Methought thy very *gait* did prophesy
“A royal nobleness.”

Ver. 232. ————— *such majesty*

Invests *him coming* !] Probably an allusion to the expression, applied by the Psalmist to the Most High: “He is clothed with *majesty*,” Psalm xciii. 1.

Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
In time of truce ; Iris had dipt the woof ;
His starry helm unbuckled show'd him prime 245
In manhood where youth ended ; by his side,
As in a glistering zodiack, hung the sword,
Satan's dire dread ; and in his hand the spear.

Ver. 242. *Livelier than Melibœan,*] Of a livelier colour, and richer dye, than any made at *Melibœa*, a city of Thessaly ; famous for a fish called *ostrum*, there caught and used in dying the noblest purple. Virgil, *Æn.* v. 251.

————— “ *Quam plurima circum
Purpura Mæandro duplici Melibœa cucurrit.*”

Or the grain of Sarra, the dye of Tyre, named *Sarra* of *Sar*, the Phœnician name of a fish there taken, whose blood made the purple colour. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 506.

“ *Sarrano indormiat ostro.*” HUME.

Ver. 244. ————— *Iris had dipt the woof ;*] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 83.

Ver. 245. ————— *show'd him prime
In manhood where youth ended ;*] Mr. Stillingfleet points out a similar description in Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 347.

Βῆ δ' ἰέναι, κέρει αἰσυνήτρῃ κοινῶς,
Πρῶτον ὑπνότην, τέπερ χαριεστάτη ἦεν.

And a repetition in *Odyss.* x. 278, 279.

Ver. 248. ————— *and in his hand a spear.*] The construction of this, and the former part of the period, is indeed thus : *By his side hung the sword, and the spear in his hand.* The image then is, that, as his sword hung loosely in his belt, he carried the spear negligently in his hand, as he advanced toward Adam ; and perhaps this is the picture intended to be given. But the reader is at liberty to imagine the spear carried in the Angel's hand in what attitude pleases him best ; or several ; for 'tis common with the ancients for the verb not to be applicable



Adam bow'd low ; he, kingly, from his state
Inclin'd not, but his coming thus declar'd. 250

Adam, Heaven's high behest no preface needs:
Sufficient that thy prayers are heard ; and Death,
Then due by sentence when thou didst transgress,

to all the members of the period. So here *hung* may be restrained to the sword only. There is another like instance, B. iv. 509, where *pinus* agrees to *desire* only. Markland, on Statius's *Sylv.* i. i. 79, gives several instances of this in the ancients.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 249. ————— *he, kingly, from his state*

Inclin'd not,] This expression is to be found in Spenser, in the same sense as it is here used, *Faer. Qu.* v. ix. 34.

“ To whom she eke *inclyning* her withall.”

And in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. ix. st. 60.

————— “ The winged warrior low *inclinde*

“ At his Creator's feet with reverence due.”

Tasso speaks this of the Archangel Michael ;

————— “ Duce de' guerrieri alati

“ S' *inchinò* riverente al Divin piede.”

The expression indeed is perfectly Italian. Thus Virgil, in the ninth canto of Dante's *Inferno*, beckons to the poet, who is himself the hero of his own poem, to make himself easy, and to *incline* to the Angel, st. 29.

————— “ quei fe segno

“ Chi stessì queto, et *inchinassi* ad esso.”

Landino's comment on this passage will serve as well for Milton as for Dante. “ Chi *inchina*,” says he, “ fa riverentia ; et significa lo *'nchinare* cedere al superiore, et esser pronto a sottomettersi &c.” p. 75.

The expression is also in Froissart, V. 4. C. 78, 228. “ Les deux Rois, Charles 6 de France, et Richard 2 d'Angleterre, 1396, s' entrerencontrerent. Si s' *enclinerent* un petit.”

BOWLE.

Defeated of his seizure many days
 Given thee of grace ; wherein thou may'st repent,
 And one bad act with many deeds well done 256
 May'st cover : Well may then thy Lord, appeas'd,
 Redeem thee quite from Death's rapacious claim ;
 But longer in this Paradise to dwell
 Permits not : to remove thee I am come, 260
 And send thee from the garden forth to till
 The ground whence thou wast taken, fitter soil.

Ver. 261. *And send thee from the garden forth to till*

The ground whence thou wast taken, fitter soil.] It

is after the manner of Homer, that the Angel is here made to deliver the order he had received in the very words he had received it. Homer's exactness is so great in this kind, that sometimes I know not whether it is not rather a fault. He observes this method, not only when orders are given by a superiour Power, but also when messages are sent between equals. Nay, in the heat and hurry of a battle, a man delivers a message word for word as he received it : and sometimes a thing is repeated so often, that it becomes almost tedious. Jupiter delivers a commission to a Dream, the Dream delivers it exactly in the same words to Agamemnon, and Agamemnon repeats it a third time to the council, though it be a tautology of five or six verses together. But in the passage before us, here is all the beauty and simplicity of Homer, without any of his faults. Here are only two lines repeated out of one speech, and a third out of another ; ver. 48, and here again ver. 259. "*But longer in this Paradise to dwell.*" And it is a decree pronounced solemnly by the Almighty, and certainly it would not have become the Angel, who was sent to put it in execution, to deliver it in any other words than those of the Almighty. And let me add, that it was the more proper and necessary to repeat the words in this place, as the catastrophe of the poem depends so much upon them, and by them the fate of Man is determined, and *Paradise is lost*.

NEWTON.

He added not ; for Adam at the news
Heart-struck with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
That all his senses bound ; Eve, who unseen 265
Yet all had heard, with audible lament
Discover'd soon the place of her retire.

O unexpected stroke, worse than of Death !
Must I thus leave thee, Paradise ? thus leave 269

Ver. 264. *Heart-struck with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,*] The word *gripe* was usually combined with *grief* or *sorrow*, in our elder poets : Thus, in the Song quoted, from the “ *Paradise of Dainty Deities*,” in *Romeo and Juliet* ;

“ Where *gripping grief* y^e hart would wound.”

And Browne, in his *Brit. Pastorals*, B. i. S. iii. 1616, affords an exact parallel ;

“ Free from the *gripes of sorrow* every one.”

Ver. 267. ——— the place of her retire.] *Retire* is used for *retirement* in the manuscript *Comus*, v. 376.

“ Oft seeks to solitary sweet retire.”

Ver. 269. *Must I thus leave thee, Paradise ? thus leave Thee, native soil ! these happy walks and shades,*] These sentiments of Eve exceed, both in pathos and variety, the farewell of Philoctetes to his cave ; which Milton probably had in view. Sophocl. *Philoctet.* v. 1487. ed. P. Stephan.

Χαῖρ' ὦ μέλαθρον ξύμφρουτον ἰμὸν,
Νύμφαι τ' ἐνυδροὶ λειμωνιάδες,
Καὶ κτύπος ἄρσεν πόντον ποσειδῆος, κ. τ. λ.
Νῦν δ' ὦ κρήναι, γλυκύϊόν τε ποτὸν,
Λείπομεν ὑμᾶς, λείπομεν ἤδη,
Δόξης ἔσποτι τῆσδ' ἐπιβάντις.

And Mr. Stillingfleet very elegantly observes with how much judgement this exquisite pastoral is introduced, after the worst is known, and some words of comfort dropped by the Angel. When the first judgement was pronounced, (he continues) both Eve and

Thee, native soil ! these happy walks and shades,
 Fit haunt of Gods ? where I had hope to spend,
 Quiet though sad, the respite of that day
 That must be mortal to us both. O flowers,
 That never will in other climate grow,
 My early visitation, and my last 275
 At even, which I bred up with tender hand
 From the first opening bud, and gave ye names !
 Who now shall rear ye to the sun, or rank
 Your tribes, and water from the ambrosial fount ?
 Thee lastly, nuptial bower ! by me adorn'd 280
 With what to sight or smell was sweet ! from
 thee
 How shall I part, and whither wander down
 Into a lower world ; to this obscure

Adam were silent : The awfulness of the judge, and the suspension of their doom, rendered all words improper ; for, according to Seneca's observation, "*Curæ levēs loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*"

Ver. 270. — *native soil !*] *Natale solum*, as the Latins say,

" *Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine tangit*

" *Humanos animos.*"

Paradise was the *native place* of Eve ; but Adam was formed out of the dust of the ground, and was afterwards brought into Paradise. NEWTON.

Ver. 280. *Thee lastly, nuptial bower ! &c.*] Here is another classical imitation, but adorned with new graces by the creative fancy of Milton. The passage imitated is the farewell of *Alceſtis*, in the play of that name by Euripides, v. 247. edit. Barnes.

Γαῖα τε, καὶ μελᾶθρων σίγα,

ΝΥΜΦΙΔΙΑΙ ΤΕ ΚΟΙΤΑΙ

Πατρίας Ἴωλλε.

And wild? how shall we breathe in other air
 Less pure, accustom'd to immortal fruits? 285

Whom thus the Angel interrupted mild.
 Lament not, Eve, but patiently resign
 What justly thou hast lost, nor set thy heart,
 Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine :
 Thy going is not lonely; with thee goes 290
 Thy husband; him to follow thou art bound;
 Where he abides, think there thy native soil.

Adam, by this from the cold sudden damp
 Recovering, and his scatter'd spirits return'd,
 To Michael thus his humble words address'd. 295

Celestial, whether among the Thrones, or nam'd
 Of them the highest; for such of shape may seem
 Prince above princes! gently hast thou told
 Thy message, which might else in telling wound,
 And in performing end us; what besides 300
 Of sorrow, and dejection, and despair,
 Our frailty can sustain, thy tidings bring,
 Departure from this happy place, our sweet
 Recess, and only consolation left
 Familiar to our eyes! all places else 305
 Inhospitable appear, and desolate;
 Nor knowing us, nor known: And, if by prayer
 Incessant I could hope to change the will

Ver. 284. ——— how shall we breathe in other air

Less pure, accustom'd to immortal fruits?] To eat,
 for the future, fruits *not immortal*, and to have air *less pure* too,
 are circumstances which may well justify Eve's folicitous inquiry
 about her breathing in the lower world. PEARCE.

Of Him who all things can, I would not cease
 To weary him with my assiduous cries : 310
 But prayer against his absolute decree
 No more avails than breath against the wind,
 Blown stifling back on him that breathes it forth :
 Therefore to his great bidding I submit.
 This most afflicts me, that, departing hence, 315
 As from his face I shall be hid, depriv'd
 His blessed countenance : Here I could frequent
 With worship place by place where he vouchsaf'd
 Presence Divine ; and to my sons relate,
 " On this mount he appear'd ; under this tree 320

Ver. 310. *To weary him with my assiduous cries :*] Thus, in Prior's delightful poem, Emma says to Henry ;

" And when at night, with weary toil oppress'd,
 " Soft slumbers thou enjoy'st, and wholesome rest ;
 " Watchful I'll guard thee, and with midnight prayer
 " Weary the gods to keep thee in their care."

But the phrase is originally from Horace, *Od. I. ii. 26.* " *prece quâ fatigent &c.*"

Ver. 316. *As from his face I shall be hid,*] " From thy face shall I be hid," *Gen. iv. 14.* GILLIES.

Ver. 320. " *On this mount he appear'd ; &c.*] This has been observ'd to be very like what our author has written in another place, due allowance being made for the difference of person and subject. " With less fervency was studied what St. Paul or St. John had written, than was listened to one that could say, *here he taught, here he stood, this was his stature, and thus he went habited, and O happy this house that harbour'd him, and that cold stone whereon he rested, this village wherein he wrought such a miracle, and that pavement bedew'd with the warm effusion of his last blood, that sprouted up into eternal roses to crown his martyrdom.*" Of Prelatical Episcopacy, p. 34. vol. i. edit. 1738.

“ Stood vifible ; among thefe pines his voice
 “ I heard; here with him at this fountain
 talk’d:”

So many grateful altars I would rear
 Of graffy turf, and pile up every ftone

And both paffages very much refemble the following in Pliny's Panegyrick to Trajan. xv. “ Veniet ergo tempus, quo pofteri vifere, vifendum tradere minoribus fuis geftient, quis fudores tuos haufirit campus, quæ refectiones tuas arbores, quæ fomnum faxa prætexerint, quod denique tectum magnus hofpes impleveris, &c.”

NEWTON.

The learned Mr. Burgefs, in the additions to his elegant *Effay on the Study of Antiquities*, 2d edit. Ox. 1782, has fubjoined to the preceding note the following paffage from Cicero, *De Leg.* l. ii. c. ii. “ Movemur nefcio quo pacto ipsis locis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur, adfunt veftigia. Me quidem ipfæ illæ Athenæ noftræ non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quàm recordatione fumorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi federe, ubi difputare folitus fit : ftudiosèque eorum etiam fepulchra contemplor.”

Ver. 323. *So many grateful altars &c.*] “ Befide the beauty of the fentiment, there feems to be a propriety in this paffage, which the commentators have not remarked. From the defire, which mankind have had in all ages, of preferving the memory of important and interefting tranfactions, many expedients were employed to tranfmit knowledge to fucceeding ages, before the invention of writing. *Groves* and *altars*, *tombs*, *pillars*, and *heaps of ftones*, were the representative fymbols of paft tranfactions, and memorials to inſtruct pofterity. Without mentioning many other particular inſtances, which are enumerated by different writers, we find from various parts of the book of *Genefis*, that the patriarchs raifed *altars*, where God had appeared to them. See *Cb.* xi. 7. xxv. 25. To this cuſtom of the primitive and patriarchal ages Milton feems to have alluded.” Burgefs's *Effay*, &c.

Of lustre from the brook, in memory, 325
 Or monument to ages ; and thereon
 Offer sweet-smelling gums, and fruits, and flowers :
 In yonder nether world where shall I seek
 His bright appearances, or foot-step trace ?
 For though I fled him angry, yet, recall'd 330
 'To life prolong'd and promis'd race, I now
 Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
 Of glory ; and far off his steps adore.

Ver. 325. ————— *in memory,*

Or monument to ages ;] Dr. Bentley asks what difference there is between *memorial* and *monument*, that *or* must separate them. I think that by *in memory* Adams means for a memorial to himself for marks, by which he might remember the places of God's appearance : but because his sons, who had not seen God appearing there, could not be said to remember them ; he therefore changes his expression, and says *Or in monument to ages*, that is, to warn, teach, and instruct them, that God formerly appeared there to him. The doctor, not perceiving this sense of the passage, would read

————— “ from the *brooks* in memory
 “ *A monument to ages.*” PEARCE.

The combination of *memory* and *monument* occurs also in our elder poetry : Thus in Spenser's *Virgil's Guat*, ft. 74.

“ And many lost, of whom no *moniment*
 “ Remains, nor *memory* is to be shewn.”

And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Doub. Marriage*, A. ii. S. i.

“ The *memory* and *monuments* of good men
 “ Are more than lives.”

Ver. 332. *Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts*
Of glory ;] He alludes to *Exod.* xxxiii. 22, 23.

“ And it shall come to pass while my *glory* passes by—*thou shalt*

To whom thus Michael with regard benign.
Adam, thou know'st Heaven his, and all the
Earth ;

335

Not this rock only ; his Omnipresence fills
Land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives,
Fomented by his virtual power and warm'd :
All the earth he gave thee to possess and rule,

see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen :" As, in what follows, he had Statius in memory, *Theb.* xii. 817.

" Sed longè sequere, et vestigia semper adora."

——— *and far off his steps adore.* NEWTON.

Ver. 337. ————— *and every kind that lives,*] The construction is, *His Omnipresence fills every kind that lives :* Which, if true, says Dr. Bentley, was not the author's intention. But how it can be proved that it was not the author's intention, when his words so clearly express it, I am at a loss to apprehend : And, if the doctor could really question the truth of the assertion, it must be said that the poet had nobler and more worthy conceptions of God's Omnipresence than the divine ; for *In him we live, move, and have our being*, Acts xvii. 28. Pope has enlarged upon the same sentiment with great sublimity of thought, and as great force of language, *Essay on Man*, i. 259, &c. Nay, an heathen poet has a remarkable passage to this purpose, to which Milton, no doubt, alluded. Lucan, ix. 578.

" Estne Dei sedes nisi terra, et pontus, et aer,

" Et cælum, et virtus? Superos quid quærimus ultra?

" Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris."

NEWTON.

Milton rather alluded to the sublimer testimony of Scripture ; perhaps to the 139th *Psalms* ; which celebrates, with unparalleled grandeur, the Omnipresence of the Deity : Or, certainly, to *Jeremiah* xxiii. 24. " Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord." So he had before described the Almighty, B. vii. 168. " I am who fill infinitude."

No despicable gift ; surmise not then 340
 His presence to these narrow bounds confin'd
 Of Paradise, or Eden : this had been
 Perhaps thy capital feat, from whence had spread
 All generations ; and had hither come
 From all the ends of the earth, to celebrate 345
 And reverence thee, their great progenitor.
 But this pre-eminence thou hast lost, brought down
 To dwell on even ground now with thy sons :
 Yet doubt not but in valley, and in plain,
 God is, as here ; and will be found alike 350
 Present ; and of his presence many a sign
 Still following thee, still compassing thee round
 With goodness and paternal love, his face
 Express, and of his steps the track divine. 354
 Which that thou may'st believe, and be confirm'd
 Ere thou from hence depart ; know, I am sent
 To show thee what shall come in future days
 To thee, and to thy offspring : good with bad
 Expect to hear ; supernal grace contending
 With sinfulness of men ; thereby to learn 360

Ver. 344. ———— *and had hither come*] So the first editions, and not *thither*, which is in most of the later ones.

NEWTON.

Ver. 356. ———— *know, I am sent*

To show thee what shall come &c.] This is a copy of the Angel's conference with Daniel, to which Milton has often adverted. " Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days," *Dan. x. 14.*

Ver. 359. ———— *supernal grace contending*

With sinfulness of men ;] *Gen. vi. 3.* " My spirit shall not always strive with man." GILLIES.

True patience, and to temper joy with fear
 And pious sorrow ; equally inur'd
 By moderation either state to bear,
 Prosperous or adverse : so shalt thou lead
 Safest thy life, and best prepar'd endure 365
 Thy mortal passage when it comes.—Ascend
 This hill ; let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)
 Here sleep below ; while thou to foresight wak'ft ;
 As once thou slept'ft, while she to life was form'd.

To whom thus Adam gratefully replied. 370
 Ascend, I follow thee, safe Guide, the path
 Thou lead'ft me ; and to the hand of Heaven
 submit,

However chastening ; to the evil turn
 My obvious breast ; arming to overcome

Ver. 367. ———— *let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)*

Here sleep below ;] It may be asked why Eve was not permitted to see this vision, as she had no less occasion than Adam *thereby to learn true patience* : But Milton here only continues the same decorum which he had before observed, when he made Eve retire upon Raphael's beginning his conference with Adam, B. viii. Besides, the tenderness of the female mind could not be supposed able to bear the shocking scenes, which were going to be represented. THEYER.

Ver. 368. ———— *while thou to foresight wak'ft ;*] It is observed by Mr. Stillingfleet, that all exertions of the mind are properly represented under the idea of *waking*. Thus, “Awake to righteousness,” I Cor. xv. 34. As, on the contrary, ignorance, stupidity, and sin, are described by the idea of sleep.

Ver. 374. ———— *to overcome*

By suffering,] Virgil, *Æn.* v. 710.

“Quicquid erit, superando omnis fortuna ferendo est.”

HUME.

By suffering, and earn rest from labour won, 375
 If so I may attain.—So both ascend
 In the visions of God. It was a hill,
 Of Paradise the highest; from whose top
 The hemisphere of earth, in clearest ken, 379
 Stretch'd out to the amplest reach of prospect lay.
 Not higher that hill, nor wider looking round,
 Whereon, for different cause, the Tempter set
 Our second Adam, in the wilderness;
 To show him all Earth's kingdoms, and their
 glory.

His eye might there command wherever stood 385
 City of old or modern fame, the seat
 Of mightiest empire, from the destin'd walls
 Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,

Ver. 377. *In the visions of God.*] A Scripture expression, as Hume and Dr. Newton have noted. See *Ezek.* viii. 3, and xl. 2. To which Mr. Stillingfleet adds *II Chron.* xxvi. 5.

Ver. 381. *Not higher that hill, &c.*] Whereon the Devil set our Saviour, the *second man*, the *last Adam*, *I Cor.* xv. 45, 47, *to show him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*, *Matt.* iv. 8. The prospects are well compared together; and the first thought of the one might probably be taken from the other: And as the one makes part of the subject of *Paradise Lost*, so doth the other of *Paradise Regained*. NEWTON.

See the notes on *Paradise Regained*, B. iii. 253.

Ver. 387. ————— *from the destin'd walls
 Of Cambalu, &c.*] He first takes a view of Asia, and there of the northern parts, *the destin'd walls* not yet in being but designed to be (which is to be understood of all the rest) *of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can*, the principal city of Cathay, a province of Tartary, the ancient seat of the Chams, *and Samarchand by Oxus*, the chief city of Zagathaian Tartary near

And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
To Paquin of Sinæan kings; and thence 390

the river Oxus, *Temir's throne*, the birth place and royal residence of Tamerlane; and from the northern he passes to the eastern and southern parts of Asia, *to Paquin* or *Pekin of Sinæan kings*, the royal city of China, the country of the ancient Sinæ mentioned by Ptolemy; *and thence to Agra and Labor* two great cities in the empire of the great Mogul, *down to the golden Chersonese*, that is Malacca the most southern promontory of the East-Indies; *or where the Persian in Ecbatan sat*, Ecbatana, formerly the capital city of Persia, *or since in Hispahan*, the capital city at present; *or where the Russian Ksar*, the Czar of Muscovy, *in Mosco*, the metropolis of all Russia; *or the Sultan in Bizance*, the Grand Signior in Constantinople formerly Byzantium, *Turcheftan-born*, as the Turks came from Turchestan a province of Tartary; he reckons these to Asia, as they are adjoining, and great part of their territories lie in Asia.

He passes now into Africa; *nor could his eye not ken the empire of Negus*, the Upper Ethiopia or the land of the Abyssinians, subject to one sovran, stiled in their own language *Negus* or king, and by the Europeans *Prestor John*, *to his utmost port Ercoco*, or *Erquico* on the Red Sea, the north-east boundary of the Abyssinian empire, *and the less maritim kings*, the lesser kingdoms on the sea coast, *Mombaza*, and *Quiloa*, and *Melind*, all near the line in Zanguebar, a great region of the lower Ethiopia on the eastern or Indian sea, and subject to the Portuguese, *and Sofala*, *thought Ophir*, another kingdom and city on the same sea, mistaken by Purchas and others for Ophir, whence Solomon brought gold, *to the realm of Congo*, a kingdom in the lower Ethiopia on the western shore, as the others were on the eastern, *and Angola farthest south*, another kingdom south of Congo; *Or thence from Niger flood*, the river Niger that divides Negro-land into two parts, *to Atlas mount* in the most western parts of Africa, the kingdoms of *Almansor*, namely *Fcz and Sus*, *Morocco*, and *Algiers*, and *Trenisen*, all kingdoms in Barbary.

After Africa he comes to Europe, *On Europe thence*, and *where Rome was to sway the world*: the less is said of Europe as it is so well known.

To Agra and Lahor of great Mogul,
 Down to the golden Chersoneſe ; or where
 The Perſian in Ecbatan fat, or ſince
 In Hiſpahan ; or where the Ruſſian Kſar
 In Moſco ; or the Sultan in Bizance, 395
 Turcheſtan-born ; nor could his eye not ken
 The empire of Negus to his utmoſt port
 Ercoco, and the leſs maritim kings
 Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
 And Sofala, thought Ophir, to the realm 400
 Of Congo, and Angola fartheſt ſouth ;
 Or thence from Niger flood to Atlas mount
 The kingdoms of Almanſor, Fez and Sus,
 Morocco, and Algiers, and Tremiſen ;

In ſpirit perhaps he alſo ſaw, he could not ſee it otherwiſe, as America was on the oppoſite ſide of the globe, rich Mexico in North America the ſeat of Montezume, who was ſubdued by the Spaniſh general Cortes, and Cuſco in Peru in South America, the richer ſeat of Atabalipa, the laſt emperour ſubdued by the Spaniſh general Pizarro, and yet unſpoil'd Guiana, another country of South America not then invaded and ſpoiled, whoſe great city, namely Manhoa, Geryon's ſons, the Spaniards from Geryon an ancient king of Spain, call El Dorado or the golden city on account of its richneſs and extent.

And thus he ſurveyſs the four different parts of the world, but it muſt be confeſſed, more with an oſtentation of learning, than with any additional beauty to the poem. But Mr. Thyer is of opinion, that ſuch little fallies of the Muſe agreeably enough diverſify the ſcene ; and obſerves, that Taſſo, whoſe Godfrey is no very imperfect model of a regular epick poem, has in his fifteenth Canto employed thirty or forty ſtanſas together, in a deſcription of this fort ; which had no neceſſary connexion with his general plan. NEWTON.

On Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway
 The world: in spirit perhaps he also saw 406
 Rich Mexico, the seat of Montezume,
 And Cusco in Peru, the richer seat
 Of Atabalipa; and yet unspoil'd
 Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons 410
 Call El Dorado. But to nobler fights
 Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,

Ver. 405. On *Europe*] Fenton reads "Or Europe."

Ver. 406. ——— in spirit perhaps he also saw

Rich Mexico, &c.] Mr. Mickle, the learned translator of the *Lusiad* of Camöens, is of opinion, that Milton is here indebted to that passage in the tenth canto of the Portuguese poet, where the heroes of the poem are presented with a view of the universe, described by the goddess Venus; and that he seems to have copied even the mention of America. See *The Lusiad*, 2d edit. 1778, p. 492.

Mr. Walker, in his *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, observes that when, in Marino's *Gerusalemme Distrutta*, the Deity opens the book of fate, c. vii. ft. 27, we discover several of the scenes which appear in vision to Adam, when he and Michael ascend the hill of Paradise.

Ver. 409. ——— and yet unspoil'd

Guiana,] I suppose Milton alluded to the many frustrated voyages, which had been made in search of this golden country. If I remember right, this was the famous place that Sir Walter Raleigh was to have brought such treasures from.

THYER.

Ver. 411. ——— But to nobler fights

Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,] These, which follow, says Dr. Newton, are *nobler fights*; being not only of cities and kingdoms, but of the principal actions of men to the final consummation of all things. He observes also, with Hume, that the Angel *removes the film from Adam's eyes*, as Pallas removed the mists from Diomedes's, *Iliad*. v. 127, and as Venus

Which that false fruit that promis'd clearer fight
 Had bred; then purg'd with euphrasy and rue
 The visual nerve, for he had much to see; 415
 And from the well of life three drops instill'd.
 So deep the power of these ingredients pierc'd,
 Even to the inmost seat of mental fight,
 That Adam, now enforc'd to close his eyes,
 Sunk down, and all his spirits became intranc'd;

did from those of Æneas, *Æn.* ii. 604; And, he adds, as the same Angel, Michael, did also from those of Godfrey. *Gier. Lib.* c. xviii. ft. 93. See also note above. v. 406.

Ver. 414. ———— *purg'd with euphrasy and rue*] Cleared the organs of his sight with *rue* and *euphrasy* or *eye-bright*, so named of its clearing virtue. HUME.

Rue was used in exorcisms, and is therefore called *herb of grace* by Shakspeare, *Rich.* II. A. iii. S. iv. *Hamlet*, A. iv. S. v.

NEWTON.

See also note on *Comus*, v. 642. I find that the property of *purging the sight*, is likewise attributed to *rue*;

“*Ruta comesta recens oculos caligine purgat* :”

Swan's *Speculum Mundi*, edit. 1643, p. 242.

Ver. 416. ———— *the well of life*] *Psalms*, xxxvi. 9.
 “With thee is the fountain of life.” GILLIES.

Ver. 418. *Even to the inmost seat of mental fight*,] Pulci, c. xxv. ft. 308.

“*Ora all' occhio mentale è conceduto*

“*Di riveder cio chetu hai veduto*.” BOWLE.

Ver. 420. ———— *and all his spirits became intranc'd*;] So, in B. viii. 453. “My earthly by his heavenly overpower'd, &c.” Adam's sinking down overpowered, and then being raised again by the hand gently by the Angel, is copied, as Dr. Newton observes, from *Dan.* x. 8, &c. or from *Rev.* i. 17.

But him the gentle Angel by the hand 421
Soon rais'd, and his attention thus recall'd.

Adam, now ope thine eyes ; and first behold
The effects, which thy original crime hath wrought
In some to spring from thee ; who never touch'd 425
The excepted tree ; nor with the snake conspir'd ;
Nor sinn'd thy sin ; yet from that sin derive
Corruption, to bring forth more violent deeds.

His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,
Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves 430
New reap'd ; the other part sheep-walks and folds ;
I' the midst an altar as the land-mark stood,
Rustick, of grassy ford ; thither anon
A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought

Ver. 427. *Nor sinn'd thy sin ;*] So, in *Exod.* xxxii. 30, " Ye have *sinned* a great *sin*." And I *John* v. 16. " If any man see his brother *sin* a *sin*." The same manner of speaking has prevailed among the best classic authors, as well as in Scripture.

Yet from that sin derive. The word *sin* is by mistake omitted in Milton's second edition. NEWTON.

Ver. 433. ——— *of grassy ford ;*] *Sord* is the old word for *sward* or *swerd*, which means *turf*. Thus in the *Winter's Tale*, Shakspeare, fol. edit. 1623, p. 292.

" This is the prettiest low-borne lasse, that euer

" Ran on the greene-*ford*."

Fenton reads *sod* ; and all succeeding editions adopt this supposed emendation, till Dr. Newton restored the original word ; except that Dr. Bentley has printed it (very affectedly, says Dr. Newton,) *swerd*.

Ver. 434. *A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought ; &c.*] It may be proper to compare this account with the sacred history, to which it alludes, *Gen.* iv. 2. &c. " And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And in process

First fruits, the green ear, and the yellow sheaf,
Uncull'd, as came to hand ; a shepherd next, 436
More meek, came with the firstlings of his flock,

of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof." The poet adds, that Cain took the fruits *uncull'd, as came to hand*, whereas Abel selected the *choicest and best* of his flock ; and in this some interpreters have conceived the guilt of Cain to consist. The poet too makes them offer both upon the same altar, for the word *brought* in Scripture (which Milton likewise retains) is understood of their bringing their offerings to some common place of worship : and this altar he makes of turf, *of grassy sord*, as the first altars are represented to be, and describes the sacrifice somewhat in the manner of Homer. The Scripture says only that *the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering ; but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect* : The poet makes this respect unto Abel's offering to be a fire from Heaven consuming it ; and herein he is justified by the authority of the best Commentators, Jewish and Christian ; and there are several instances of such acceptance in Scripture. Cain's was not so accepted, *for* (says the poet) *his was not sincere. And Cain was very wroth—And Cain talked with Abel his brother, and it came to pass when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.* The poet makes Cain to *smite him into the midriff* or diaphragm, a nervous muscle separating the breast from the belly, *with a stone*, supposing it the most natural and the most ready instrument at hand ; and so Cowley, *Davidicis* i, and in his note 16 : but however he makes his blood to be spilled, as the Scripture particularly mentions *the blood of Abel*.

" Groan'd out his soul with gushing blood effus'd."

" Undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore."

Virg. *Æn.* x. 908.

This is very properly made the first vision, and is so much enlarged upon, as it is of Adam's immediate descendants.

NEWTON.

Choiceſt and beſt ; then, ſacrificing, laid
 The inwards and their fat, with incenſe ſtrow'd,
 On the cleft wood, and all due rites perform'd : 440
 His offering ſoon propitious fire from Heaven
 Conſum'd with nimble glance, and grateful ſteam ;
 The other's not, for his was not ſincere ;
 Whereat he inly rag'd, and, as they talk'd,
 Smote him into the midriff with a ſtone 445
 That beat out life ; he fell ; and, deadly pale,
 Groan'd out his ſoul with guſhing blood effus'd.
 Much at that ſight was Adam in his heart
 Diſmay'd, and thus in haſte to the Angel cried.

O Teacher, ſome great miſchief hath befall'n 450
 To that meek man, who well had ſacrific'd ;
 Is piety thus and pure devotion paid ?

To whom Michael thus, he alſo mov'd, replied.
 Theſe two are brethren, Adam, and to come
 Out of thy loins ; the unjuſt the juſt hath ſlain, 455
 For envy that his brother's offering found
 From Heaven acceptance ; but the bloody fact
 Will be aveng'd ; and the other's faith, approv'd,
 Loſe no reward ; though here thou ſee him die,
 Rolling in duſt and gore. To which our fire. 460

Alas ! both for the deed, and for the cauſe !
 But have I now ſeen Death ? Is this the way
 I muſt return to native duſt ? O ſight

Ver. 457. *From Heaven acceptance ;]* Gen. iv. 7. " If
 thou doeſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted ?" HUME.

Ver. 458. ————— *and the other's faith, approv'd,]*
 See *Hab.* xi. 4. NEWTON.

Of terrour, foul and ugly to behold,
Horrid to think, how horrible to feel ! 465

To whom thus Michaël. Death thou hast seen
In his first shape on Man ; but many shapes
Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
To his grim cave, all dismal ; yet to sense
More terrible at the entrance, than within. 470
Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die ;
By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more
In meats and drinks, which on the earth shall
bring

Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
Before thee shall appear ; that thou may'st know
What misery the inabstinence of Eve 476
Shall bring on Men. Immediately a place
Before his eyes appear'd, sad, noisome, dark ;
A lazarus-house it seem'd ; wherein were laid

Ver. 467. ————— *but many shapes*
Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
To his grim cave,] Seneca, *Phœnissæ*, A. i. 151,

153.

“ Ubique mors est——

——“ mille ad hanc aditus patent.” NEWTON.

Ver. 477. ————— *Immediately a place*
Before his eyes appear'd, &c.] So Adam speaks,
in the *Lacrymæ Adami*, before-cited, B. x. 733.

“ Circumspexi oculis trepidantibus : illicet in me

“ Obvia nescio quo de grege turba ruunt.

“ Curæque, Planctûsque, catenatique Dolores,

“ Hinc Metus, inde Lues ; hinc Sitis, inde Fames ;

“ Hinc etiam Morbi, varium pecus.”——

Numbers of all diseas'd ; all maladies 480
 Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
 Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
 Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
 Intestine stone and ulcer, colick-pangs,
 Demoniack phrenzy, moaping melancholy, 485
 And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
 Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence,
 Dropsies, and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums.
 Dire was the tossing, deep the groans ; Despair

Ver. 482. ————— *all feverous kinds,*] “ Febrium cohors,” Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 30.

Ver. 487. *Marasmus,*] The word is Greek, and signifies a kind of consumption, accompanied with a fever wasting the body by degrees. But this and the two preceding verses were not in the first edition, but were added by Milton in the second, to swell the horror of the description. Dr. Bentley is for striking them out again ; but Pope says they are three admirable lines. NEWTON.

Ver. 489. *Dire was the tossing, deep the groans : Despair &c.*] This is entirely in the picturesque manner of Spenser, and seems to allude particularly to that beautiful passage, where, describing the way to “ *Pluto's grievous reign,*” he represents Pain, Strife, Revenge, &c. as so many persons assembled ; and over them sat Horror soaring with grim hue, and beating his iron wings. *Faer. Qu.* ii. vii. 21 to 24.

“ By that way's side there sat infernal Pain, &c.”

THYER.

I am inclined to think, that Milton might allude to the animated *Induction* of Sackville in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, in which the allegorical personages, who sit within “ *the porch and jaws of Hell,*” are drawn with admirable taste and distinctness ; as Remorse of Conscience, Dread, Revenge, Misery, Care, Sleep, Old-Age, Malady, Famine, Death, and War. Sackville

Tended the sick busiest from couch to couch ;
 And over them triumphant Death his dart 491
 Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invoc'd
 With vows, as their chief good, and final hope.
 Sight so deform what heart of rock could long
 Dry-ey'd behold? Adam could not, but wept, 495
 Though not of woman born ; compassion quell'd
 His best of man, and gave him up to tears
 A space, till firmer thoughts restrain'd excess ;

also preceded Spenser in the use of this imagery. I subjoin part of the description of *Death* :

“ His *dart* anon out of the corps he tooke,

“ And in his hand (a dreadfull sight to see)

“ *With great triumph* esloones the same he *shooke*.”

But the *Vision of Pierce Plowman* puts in a prior claim to this sort of poetick imagery and colouring : and, as Mr. Warton observes, Nature, or Kinde, sending forth diseases from the planets at the command of Conscience, and of his attendants Age and Death, is conceived with sublimity, and at least reminds us of Milton's lazar-house. See *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 284, second edit. See also Mr. Bryant's *Observ. on Rowley's Poems*, 1781, p. 431. After all, Virgil must be considered as the father of these fictitious beings. See *Æn.* vi. 273—282.

Ver. 495. ————— *Adam wept,*

Though not of woman born ; compassion quell'd

His best of man, and gave him up to tears] This

thought, as Mr. Whalley observes, is certainly from Shakspeare ; whose words Milton has preserved at the close of the sentence. *K. Hen. V. A. iv. S. vi.*

“ But I had not so much of man in me,

“ But all my mother came into my eyes,

“ And gave me up to tears.” NEWTON.

And, scarce recovering words, his plaint renew'd.

O miserable mankind, to what fall 500

Degraded, to what wretched state reserv'd !

Better end here unborn. Why is life given

To be thus wrested from us ? rather, why

Obtruded on us thus ? who, if we knew

What we receive, would either not accept 505

Life offer'd, or soon beg to lay it down ;

Glad to be so dismiss'd in peace. Can thus

The image of God in Man, created once

So goodly and erect, though faulty since,

To such unsightly sufferings be debas'd 510

Under inhuman pains ? Why should not Man,

Retaining still divine similitude

In part, from such deformities be free,

And, for his Maker's image sake, exempt ? 514

Their Maker's image, answer'd Michael, then

Forsook them, when themselves they vilified

To serve ungovern'd Appetite ; and took

Ver. 502. *Better end here unborn. Why is life given &c.]*

It is probable that Milton had the following lines of Sophocles in view, to which Mr. Stillingfleet refers, *Oedip. Colon.* v. 1288,

Μὴ φῦλαι τὸν ἅπαντα νῆ-
κα λόγον· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ φατῇ
βῆται κείδεν ὁδὸν περ ἡκεί,·
Πολὺ δὲύτερον, ὥς τάχιστα.

Ver. 517. *To serve ungovern'd Appetite ;]* *Appetite* is here a person ; *and took HIS image whom they serv'd*, i. e. ungovern'd APPETITE's, a brutish vice, that was the principal occasion of the sin of Eve, inductive mainly to the sin of Eve. NEWTON.

Appetite had been personified before, B. ix. 1129. I observe also in Carew's *Cælum Britannicum*, 1634, that

His image whom they serv'd, a brutish vice,
Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve.

Therefore so abject is their punishment, 520
Disfiguring not God's likeness, but their own;
Or if his likeness, by themselves defac'd;
While they pervert pure Nature's healthful rules
To loathsome sickness; worthily, since they
God's image did not reverence in themselves. 525

I yield it just, said Adam, and submit.
But is there yet no other way, besides
These painful passages, how we may come
To death, and mix with our connatural dust?

There is, said Michael, if thou well observe 530
The rule of *Not too much*; by temperance taught,
In what thou eat'st and drink'st; seeking from
thence

Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
Till many years over thy head return:
So may'st thou live; till, like ripe fruit, thou drop
Into thy mother's lap; or be with ease 536

"Vice,—unbodied, in the Appetite

"Erects his throne—"

Ver. 524. ————— *since they*

God's image did not reverence in themselves.] Rom.

i. 21, 24. "When they knew God, they glorified him not as God—wherefore God gave them up to—dishonour their own bodies." GILLIES.

Ver. 535. *So may'st thou live; till, like ripe fruit, thou drop
Into thy mother's lap;]* So, in the Tragedie of
Tancred and Gismund, 1592.

"Now grown in yeares, and over-worne with cares,

"Subiect vnto the sodain stroke of death,

Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd ; for death mature :
 This is Old Age ; but then, thou must outlive
 Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty ; which will
 change

To wither'd, weak, and gray ; thy senses then,
 Obtuse, all taste of pleasure must forego, 541
 To what thou hast ; and, for the air of youth,
 Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reign
 A melancholy damp of cold and dry
 To weigh thy spirits down, and last consume 545

“ Already falling, *like the mellowed fruit,*
 “ And *dropping by degrees into our grave.*”

Dryden perhaps had Milton in remembrance, when he wrote the following fine lines ;

“ So would I live, such gradual death to find,
 “ Like timely fruit, not shaken by the wind,
 “ But ripely dropping from the sapless bough ;
 “ And, dying, nothing to myself would owe.”

Ver. 537. *Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd ; for death mature :*] He seems to have had in mind this passage of Cicero *De Senect.* xix. “ Et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sint, vi avelluntur ; si matura et cocta, decidunt : Sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas.” NEWTON,

Ver. 538. ——— *but then, thou must outlive &c.*] There is something very just and poetical in this description of the miseries of old age, so finely contrasted as they are with the opposite pleasures of youth. It is indeed short, but vastly expressive ; and I think ought to excite the pity, as well as the admiration, of the reader ; since the poor poet is here, no doubt, describing what he felt at the time he wrote it, being then in the decline of life, and troubled with various infirmities.

THYER.

Ver. 543. ——— *in thy blood will reign*
A melancholy damp of cold and dry
To weigh thy spirits down,] See Burton's *Anat.*

The balm of life. To whom our ancestor.

Henceforth I fly not death, nor would prolong
Life much ; bent rather, how I may be quit,
Fairest and easiest, of this cumbrous charge ;
Which I must keep till my appointed day 550
Of rendering up, and patiently attend
My dissolution. Michaël replied.

Nor love thy life, nor hate ; but what thou
liv'st

Live well ; how long, or short, permit to Heaven :
And now prepare thee for another fight. 555

He look'd, and saw a spacious plain, whereon

of Melancholy, edit. 1624. p. 51. " The first of these (*causes of melancholy*) which is naturall to all, and which no man living can avoide, is *Olde Age*, which, being *cold and dry*, and of the *same quality* as *Melancholy* is, must needs cause it, by *diminution of spirits* and substance, and increasing of adust humours."

Ver. 550. *Which I must keep till my appointed day
Of rendering up, &c.*] *Job*, xiv. 14. " All the
days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come."
GILLIES.

Ver. 551. ———— *and patiently attend.
My dissolution.*] In the first edition it was thus ;

" Which I must keep till my appointed day
" Of rendring up. Michael to him replied."

But I suppose the author thought that ending too abrupt, and therefore added these words in the second edition, and omitted to him for the verse sake. NEWTON.

Ver. 553. *Nor love thy life, nor hate ;*] *Martial*, lib. x.
" Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes." NEWTON.

Ver. 554. ———— *permit to Heaven :*] " Per-
mitte Divis," *Hor. Od.* i. ix. 9. NEWTON.

Were tents of various hue ; by some, were herds
Of cattle grazing ; others, whence the found
Of instruments, that made melodious chime, 559
Was heard, of harp and organ ; and, who mov'd
Their stops and chords, was seen ; his volant
touch,

Instinct through all proportions, low and high,
Fled and pursued transverse the resonant fugue.
In other part stood one who, at the forge
Labouring, two massy clods of iron and brass 565
Had melted, (whether found where casual fire
Had wasted woods on mountain or in vale,
Down to the veins of earth ; thence gliding hot

Ver. 557. *Were tents of various hue ; &c.*] See *Gen.* iv.
20, 21, 22. NEWTON.

Ver. 561. ————— *his volant touch, &c.*] So
Dryden, in *Alexander's Feast* ;

“ Timotheus, plac'd on high
“ Amid the tuneful quire,
“ With *flying fingers touch'd* the lyre.”

Ver. 563. ————— *the resonant fugue.*] A *fugue* is,
in musick, the correspondency of parts, answering one another
in the same notes, either above or below ; therefore exactly and
graphically styled *resonant*, as sounding the same notes over
again. HUME.

Milton is the more particular in this description, as he was
himself a lover of musick, and a performer upon the organ.

NEWTON.

So, in his *Treatise of Education* : “ The skilful organist plies
his grave and fancied *descant* in lofty *fugues*.”

Ver. 565. ————— *two massy clods of iron and brass*
Had melted, (whether found where casual fire
Had wasted woods on mountain or in vale,
Down to the veins of earth ; ———] From Lu-

cretius, V. 1240.

To some cave's mouth ; or whether wash'd by
stream 569

From underground ;) the liquid ore he drain'd
Into fit moulds prepar'd ; from which he form'd
First his own tools ; then, what might else be
wrought

Fulfil or graven in metal. After these,

“ Quod superest, æs atque aurum, ferrumque repertum est,
“ Et simul argenti pondus, plumbique potestas ;
“ Ignis ubi ingentes silvas ardore cremârat
“ Montibus in magnis.”

But these verses want emendation. *Plumbi potestas* is nonsense.
The stop should be placed thus :

“ Et simul argenti pondus, plumbique, potestas
“ Ignis ubi ingentes &c.”

Argenti pondus plumbique, as in Virgil, *argenti pondus et auri*.
Potestas ignis expresses the consuming power of fire. We have
potentia solis in Virgil, and *potestates herbarum*. JORTIN.

Ver. 573. ————— *After these,*] As being the descendants of the younger brother, *but on the hither side*, Cain having been banished into a more distant country, *a different sort*, the posterity of Seth wholly different from that of Cain, *from the high neighbouring hills, which was their seat*, having their habitation in the mountains near Paradise, *down to the plain descended*, where the Cainites dwelt : *by their guise just men they seem'd, and all their study bent to worship God aright* ; the Scripture itself speaks of them as the worshippers of the true God, *and know his works not hid* ; and Josephus, and other writers, inform us, that they were addicted to the study of natural philosophy, and especially of astronomy ; *nor these things lost* (in the first edition it is *lost*, but afterwards corrected among the Errata,) *which might preserve*, nor was it their last care and study to know those things which might preserve *freedom and peace to men*. Though this account of the Sethites be, in the

But on the hither side, a different sort
 From the high neighbouring hills, which was
 their seat, 575
 Down to the plain descended; by their guise
 Just men they seem'd, and all their study bent
 To worship God aright, and know his works
 Not hid; nor those things last, which might
 preserve 579
 Freedom and peace to Men: they on the plain
 Long had not walk'd, when from the tents,
 behold!
 A bevy of fair women, richly gay
 In gems and wanton drefs; to the harp they sung
 Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on:

general, agreeable to Scripture; yet the particulars of their living in the mountains near Paradise, and of their descending thence into the plain, and their corrupting themselves in that manner with the daughters of Cain, Milton seems to have taken from the Oriental writers, and particularly from the *Annals* of Eutychius. NEWTON.

Ver. 582. *A bevy of fair women,*] This had been an old phrase to signify "a company of women."

Thus, in Skelton's *Crowne of Lawrell*, edit. 1736, p. 34.

—"the noble Countes of Surrey in a chaire

"Sate honorably, to whom dyd repayre

"Of ladyes a *bevy*."—

And many instances might be added to those of Spenser and Shakspeare, cited by doctor Newton, from Chaucer, Fletcher, and Drayton. Hume derives the word from the Italian *beva*, a covey of partridges. Pope also employs the expression, "a *bevy* of bright damsels." And Milton, in his *Apology for Smeđymnus*, has "a *bevie* of nimble Dryads."

The men, though grave, cy'd them; and let their
eyes 585

Rove without rein; till, in the amorous net
Fast caught, they lik'd; and each his liking chose;
And now of love they treat, till the evening-star,
Love's harbinger, appear'd; then, all in heat
They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke 590
Hymen, then first to marriage rites invok'd:
With feast and musick all the tents resound.

Ver. 586. ——— till, in the amorous net
Fast caught,] Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. i. st. 12.

“ Riconobbe, quantunque di lontano,

“ L' angelico fsembiante, e quel bel volto,

“ Ch' all' amorosa rete il tenea involto.” BOWLE.

Ver. 587. *Fast caught,*] So it is in Milton's own editions.
In Tonson's early editions it is “ *First* caught,” which both
Tickell and Fenton have followed.

Ver. 588. ——— the evening-star,
Love's harbinger,] So, in Donne's *Poems*, 1633.
p. 137. “ The amorous evening-starre.”

Ver. 590. ——— and bid invoke
Hymen, then first to marriage rites invok'd:
With feast and musick all the tents resound.] This
festive scene is enriched with a variety of classical allusion. Thus
Apollonius, *Argon.* iv. 1196.

Νύμφαι δ' ἄμμιγα πᾶσαι, ὅτε μνήσαιντο γάμοιο,
ἱμερόενθ' ὑμῖναιον ἀνήπουν· κ. τ. λ.

But more particularly Hesiod, to which Mr. Stillingfleet also
refers, *Scut. Herc.* v. 272.

——— Τοὶ δ' ἄνδρες ἐν ἀγλαΐαις τε χοροῖς τε
τέρψιν ἔχον. Τοὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐσώτρει ἐπ' ἀπήνης
ἥγοντ' ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα. Πόλὺς δ' ὑμῖναιος ὀρώρει.
Τῆλε δ' ἀπ' αἰδομένων δαΐδων σίλας εὐλύφαζε

Such happy interview, and fair event
Of love and youth not lost, songs, garlands,
flowers,

And charming symphonies, attach'd the heart 595
Of Adam, soon inclin'd to admit delight,
The bent of nature; which he thus express'd.

True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel blest;
Much better seems this vision, and more hope
Of peaceful days portends, than those two past;
Those were of hate and death, or pain much
worse; 601

Here Nature seems fulfill'd in all her ends.

To whom thus Michael. Judge not what is
best

By pleasure, though to nature seeming meet;
Created, as thou art, to nobler end 605
Holy and pure, conformity divine.

Those tents thou saw'st so pleasant, were the tents
Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his race
Who slew his brother; studious they appear
Of arts that polish life, inventors rare; 610
Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit

Χερσὶν ἐν δαμάων. Ταὶ δ' ἀγλαΐης τεθαλυῖαι

Πρὸς θ' ἕκισιν τοῖσιν δὲ χοροὶ παίζοντες ἔποντο. κ. τ. λ.

See also the note on v. 660.

Ver. 607. ————— *the tents*

Of wickedness,] *Psalms lxxxiv. 10. "The tents
of wickedness."*

Ver. 611. ————— *though his Spirit*

Taught them,] See Dr. Heylin's excellent note,
B. i. 17. And compare also the last verse of the chapter therein

Taught them ; but they his gifts acknowledg'd
none.

Yet they a beauteous offspring shall beget ;
For that fair female troop thou saw'st, that seem'd
Of Goddesſes, ſo blithe, ſo ſmooth, ſo gay, 615
Yet empty of all good wherein conſiſts
Woman's domeſtick honour and chief praiſe ;
Bred only and completed to the taſte
Of luſtful appetite, to ſing, to dance, 619
To drefs, and troll the tongue, and roll the eye.

quoted : “ *Them* hath he filled with wiſdom of heart to work
all manner of work of the engraver, &c.”

Ver. 614. *For that fair female troop thou ſaw'st,*] The
conſtruction is not, as ſome may apprehend, “ For that fair
female troop *which* thou ſaw'st ;” but, “ Thou ſaw'st that fair
female troop, that ſeem'd &c.” Which is a ſufficient proof of
the poſterity of Cain *begetting a beauteous offspring*. NEWTON.

Ver. 620. ——— *and troll the tongue,*] The verb *troll* is
often applied to a *catch*, in muſick. And to *troll a catch*, Mr.
Steevens imagines, is to diſmiſs it *trippingly from the tongue*.
See his note on the *Tempeſt*, A. iii. S. ii.

See alſo Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 24.

“ Greek is pronounced wrong,

“ Unleſſe you *trole* it o'er the tongue.”

But Milton, I think, uſes the phraſe in a ſatirical ſenſe,
applicable either to the voluble or affected tongues of theſe fair
atheists ; as if he had ſaid to them, in the words of Hamlet,
“ You jig, you amble, and you liſp, and *nick-name God's crea-
tures, and make your wantonneſs your ignorance !*”

Ibid. ——— *and roll the eye.*] So Iſaiah
represents the daughters of Zion “ with wanton eyes,” which
is interpreted in the margin “ deceiving with their eyes,”
chap. iii. 16.

To these that sober race of men, whose lives
 Religious titled them the sons of God,
 Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame
 Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
 Of these fair atheists; and now swim in joy, 625
 Erelong to swim at large; and laugh, for which
 The world erelong a world of tears must weep.

Ver. 621. *To these that sober race of men, &c.*] As we read in *Gen.* vi. 2. "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose." It is now generally agreed, that this passage is to be understood of the sons of Seth, the worshippers of the true God, making matches with the idolatrous daughters of wicked Cain; and Milton puts this construction upon it here, though elsewhere he seems to give into the old exploded conceit of the angels becoming enamoured of the daughters of men. See *B.* iii. 463, and the note there; and likewise *B.* v. 447, and *Par. Reg.* *B.* ii. 178, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 625. ————— *and now swim in joy,*] So, in *B.* ix. 1009. "They *swim in mirth.*" This was a frequent phrase in our old poetry. Thus Gascoigne has "*swimmes in blisse,*" *Poems*, 1587, p. 14. And Spenser, "*swim in pleasure,*" *Faer. Qu.* ii. iii. 39. So, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, c. xii. st. 76. "*Swimming in waves of joyes.*" And, in Crashaw's *Delights of the Muses*, p. 11. "He shall *swim in riper joyes.*"

Ver. 627. *The world erelong a world of tears must weep.*] Dr. Bentley observes, that the *world* and *world* is a jingle; and that *a world of tears* is a low expression. He would therefore read "a *flood* of tears;" as Milton speaks in v. 757. But if this verse be blameable on this account, yet our poet has used the same way of speaking in *B.* ix. 11.

"That brought into this *world* a *world* of woe."

I think that the foregoing part of this sentence should be pointed thus;

To whom thus Adam, of short joy bereft.
 O pity and shame, that they, who to live well
 Enter'd so fair, should turn aside to tread 630
 Paths indirect, or in the mid way faint !
 But still I see the tenour of Man's woe
 Holds on the same, from Woman to begin.

From Man's effeminate slackness it begins,
 Said the Angel, who should better hold his place
 By wisdom, and superiour gifts receiv'd. 636
 But now prepare thee for another scene.

He look'd, and saw wide territory spread
 Before him, towns, and rural works between ;
 Cities of men with lofty gates and towers, 640
 Concourse in arms, fierce faces threatening war,
 Giants of mighty bone, and bold emprise ;

—————" and now swim in joy,
 " Erelong to swim at large ; and laugh, for which
 " The world erelong a world of tears must weep."

For *swimming in joy*, and *swimming at large*, are oppos'd to each other ; as are likewise *laughing*, and *weeping a world of tears*.

PEARCE.

As the sense is so much improved by this pointing, we cannot but prefer it to Milton's own ; which was thus :

—————" and now swim in joy
 " (Erelong to swim at large) and laugh ; for which
 " The world erelong a world of tears must weep."

NEWTON.

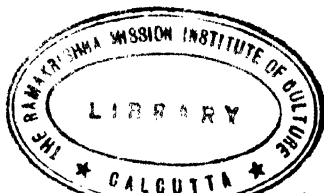
Ver. 642. ————— *bold emprise ;*] *Enterprife, as*
 in *Comus*, 610.

" I love thy courage yet, and *bold emprise*."

So Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* ii. iii. 35.

" Is far renown'd through many a *bold emprise*."

C C 2



Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming
steed,

Single or in array of battle rang'd 644

Both horse and foot, nor idly mustering stood;

One way a band select from forage drives

A herd of beeves, fair oxen and fair kine,

From a fat meadow ground; or fleecy flock,

Ewes and their bleating lambs over the plain,

Their booty; scarce with life the shepherds fly,

But call in aid, which makes a bloody fray; 651

With cruel tournament the squadrons join;

Where cattle pastur'd late, now scatter'd lies

With carcasses and arms the ensanguin'd field,

Deserted: Others to a city strong 655

Lay siege, encamp'd; by battery, scale, and mine,

Assaulting; others from the wall defend

With dart and javelin, stones, and sulphurous fire;

On each hand slaughter, and gigantick deeds.

The phrase occurs repeatedly in Spenser. But perhaps Ariosto is the original: *Orl. Fur.* c. i. st. 1.

“Le cortese, l' *audaci imprese*, io canto.”

Pope probably adopted it from Milton, *Odys.* xxi. 308.

“Yet mix'd with terror at the *bold emprise*.”

Ver. 645. ——— *nor idly mustering stood*;] One cannot perceive the pertinence of this, without supposing that it hinted at the circumstances of the land-army at this time.

WARBURTON.

Ver. 651. ——— *which makes a bloody fray*;] So it was altered for the better in the second edition: It was “*tacks a bloody fray*” in the first edition; which is not so plain and intelligible. NEWTON.

In other part the scepter'd heralds call

660

Ver. 660. *In other part the scepter'd heralds call &c.*] It may be noted here once for all, that, in this visionary part, Milton has frequently had his eye upon his master Homer; and several of the images, which are represented to Adam, are copies of the descriptions on the shield of Achilles, *Iliad* xviii.

“ His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,
 “ Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves
 “ New reap'd, the other part sheep-walks and folds.”

Is not this Homer's description a little contracted? ver. 550 &c.

Ἐν δ' εἶθε τεμένει βαθυλήϊον· ἐνθα δ' ἐρίβοι
 Ἦμων, ὀξείας δρεπάνας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες·
 Δράγματα δ' ἄλλα μὲν ὄμρον ἐπήριμα σίπλιον ἔραζε,
 Ἄλλα δ' ἀμαλλοδείηρες ἐν ἰλλοδαυσίσι δέοιο.

And ver. 587, &c.

Ἐν δὲ νομὸν ποίησε περικλυδὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις
 Ἐν καλῇ βήσση μέλαν οἶων ἀρτενάων,
 Σταθμός τε, κλισίας τε, καί τρεφείας ἰδὲ ζηκίας.

Is not the vision of marriages,

“ They light the nuptial torch, &c.”

a most beautiful and exact copy of Homer? ver. 491, &c.

— Ἐν τῇ μὲν ῥα γάμοι τ' ἔσαν εἰλαπίναι τε·
 Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων, δαΐδαν ὑπολαμπομηνιάων,
 Ἦβισιν ἀνὰ ἄστυ· πολλὺς δ' ὑμέναιος· οὐάρεϊ.
 Κῆροι δ' ὄρχ' ἔσθ' ἔδ' ἵνεον, ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
 Αὔλοισι, φόρμιγγίς τε βοὴν ἔχον·—

And in like manner the driving away of the sheep and oxen from forage, and the battle which thereupon ensues may be compared with the following passage in Homer: ver. 527 &c.

Οἱ μὲν τὰ προΐδυνες ἐπέδραμον, ὅκα δ' ἐπειλά
 Τάμονοντ' ἀμφὶ βοῶν αἰέλας καὶ σῶα καλά
 Ἀρτενῶν οἶων· κτεῖνον δ' ἐπὶ μελοδότηρας.
 Οἱ δ' ὥς ἐν ἐπύθοντο πολλὴν κέλαδον παρὰ βυσίν,
 Ἰράων προπάρουθε καθήμενοι, αἰνικ' ἔφ' ἵππων
 Βάνεις ἀεσιπύδων μελίκιαθον· αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο.
 Στῆσά μιν δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας.

To council, in the city-gates ; anon
 Gray-headed men and grave, with warriors
 mix'd,
 Assemble, and harangues are heard ; but soon,
 In factious opposition ; till at last,
 Of middle age one rising, eminent, 665

The representation of the city besieged here in Milton, the reader will find to be a very great improvement upon that in Homer, ver. 509 &c.

Τὴν δ' ἐτέρην πόλιν ἀμφὶ δῖο στρατοῦ εἰαλοῖ λαῶν
 Τεύχεσι λαμπύμενοι·

As the council in the one,

“ In other part the scepter'd heralds call
 “ To council, in the city-gates ; anon
 “ Gray-headed men and grave, with warriors mix'd,
 “ Assemble, and harangues are heard, &c.”

seems to be of much more importance than in the other, v. 503, &c,

Κήρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρῆλυον οἱ δὲ γέροντες
 Εἶατ' ἐπὶ ξυστοῖσι λίθοις, ἱερῶ ἢ κύκλῳ.
 Σκηπτέρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χεῖρσ' ἔχον ἡεροφώνων·
 Τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ᾗσσον, αἰμοιότιδις δ' ἐδίκασον·

The description of the shield of Achilles is certainly one of the finest pieces of poetry in the whole Iliad ; and Milton has plainly shown his admiration and affection for it, by borrowing so many scenes and images from it : but I think we may say that they do not, like other copies, fall short of the originals, but generally exceed them ; and receive this additional beauty, that they are most of them made representations of real histories, and matters of fact. NEWTON.

Ver. 661. *To council, in the city-gates ;*] For there assemblies were anciently held, and the judges used to sit, *Gen.* xxxiv. 20, *Dent.* xvi. 18, xxi. 19, *Zech.* viii. 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 665. *Of middle age one rising,*] Enoch said to be of *middle age*, because he was translated when he was but 365 years old ; a middle age then. *Gen.* v. 23. RICHARDSON.

In wife deport, spake much of right and wrong,
 Of justice, of religion, truth, and peace,
 And judgement from above: him old and young
 Exploded, and had seisd with violent hands;
 Had not a cloud descending snatch'd him thence
 Unseen amid the throng: so violence 671
 Proceeded, and oppression, and sword-law,
 Through all the plain, and refuge none was
 found.

Adam was all in tears, and to his guide 674
 Lamenting turn'd full sad; O! what are these,
 Death's ministers, not men? who thus deal death
 Inhumanly to men, and multiply
 Ten thousandfold the sin of him who slew
 His brother: for of whom such massacre 679
 Make they, but of their brethren; men of men?
 But who was that just man, whom had not
 Heaven

Ver. 668. *And judgement from above:]* It appears from Holy Writ, that he was not only a good man, and walked with God, Gen. v. 24; but that he remonstrated likewise against the wickedness of mankind, and denounced the heavy judgement of God upon them, Jude 14: "*Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his Saints to execute judgment upon all, &c.*" which the poet alludes to more plainly afterwards, ver. 704.

———"that God would come

"To judge them with his Saints." NEWTON.

Ver. 672. ———— *and sword-law,]* *Violent men and oppressors* are denominated, by a word of similar import in Hesiod (as Mr. Stillingfleet also notes), *Χυρδῖναι, Op. and Dies.* v. 187.

Rescued, had in his righteousness been lost?

To whom thus Michael. These are the product
Of those ill-mated marriages thou saw'st;
Where good with bad were match'd, who of
themselves 685

Abhor to join; and, by imprudence mix'd,
Produce prodigious births of body or mind.
Such were these giants, men of high renown;
For in those days might only shall be admir'd,
And valour and heroick virtue call'd; 690
To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory; and for glory done
Of triumph, to be styl'd great conquerours, 695

Ver. 688. *Such were these giants, &c.*] *Gen.* vi. 4, "There were giants in the earth in those days; &c." Some commentators understand by the word, which we translate *giants*, men of large bulk and stature; others conceive them to be no more than robbers and tyrants: Milton includes both interpretations, and leaves the choice to the reader; "*prodigious births of body or mind.*" NEWTON,

Ver. 691. *To overcome in battle, &c.*] This character is drawn more masterly in *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 71.

"They err, who count it glorious, &c." WARBURTON,

Ver. 694. ————— and for glory done

Of triumph, to be styl'd great conquerours,] Milton had said before, that "It shall be held the highest pitch of glory, to subdue nations and bring home their spoils:" And here he adds (for this I take to be his sense) that "It shall be held the highest pitch of triumph for that glory *obtain'd*, to be styl'd great conquerours," So that, though I approve of Dr. Bentley's

Patrons of mankind, Gods, and sons of Gods ;
 Destroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men.
 Thus fame shall be achiev'd, renown on earth ;
 And what most merits fame, in silence hid.
 But he, the seventh from thee, whom thou be-
 heldst 700

The only righteous in a world perverse,
 And therefore hated, therefore so beset
 With foes, for daring single to be just,
 And utter odious truth, that God would come
 To judge them with his Saints : him the Most
 High 705
 Rapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds

changing "*done*" into "*won*," I cannot agree to his altering
 "*of triumph*" to "*or triumph*." PEARCE.

This is one of the most difficult passages. I am not satisfied
 with the conjectures of either of these learned men, and see no
 other way of understanding it but this. "To overcome, to
 subdue, to spoil, shall be held the highest pitch of glory, and
shall be done for glory of triumph," *shall be achieved for that end*
and purpose, "to be styled great conquerours, &c." NEWTON.

Mr. Stillingfleet observes, that the construction is, "To over-
 come in battle &c. shall be held the highest pitch of *glory*, that
 is, *of glorious deeds*, and of triumph for that *glory done*, that is,
those glorious deeds done;" as we say, He has done great *honour*
 to such an one, that is a *deed honourable* to him. This renders
 Dr. Bentley's conjecture of *won* instead of *done*, and Dr. New-
 ton's supply of the ellipsis *shall be*, alike unnecessary.

Ver. 700. ——— *he, the seventh from thee,*] "Enoch also
 the seventh from Adam," *Jude 14.* NEWTON.

Ver. 701. *The only righteous &c.*] See *Gen. v. 24,* and *Heb.*
xi. 5.

Ver. 706. *Rapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds*] So, in
B. iii. 522. "*Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.*" Com-

Did, as thou saw'st, receive, to walk with God
 High in salvation and the climes of bliss,
 Exempt from death ; to show thee what reward
 Awaits the good ; the rest what punishment ; 710
 Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold.

He look'd, and saw the face of things quite
 chang'd ;

The brazen throat of war had ceas'd to roar ;
 All now was turn'd to jollity and game,
 To luxury and riot, feast and dance ; 715
 Marrying or prostituting, as befel,
 Rape or adultery, where passing fair
 Allur'd them ; thence from cups to civil broils.
 At length a reverend fire among them came,
 And of their doings great dislike declar'd 720
 And testified against their ways ; he oft
 Frequented their assemblies, whereso met,
 Triumphs or festivals ; and to them preach'd
 Conversion and repentance, as to souls
 In prison, under judgements imminent : 725

pare the description of Elijah "*taken up in a whirlwind of fire, and in a chariot of fiery horses,*" Eccūs, xlvi. 9.

Ver. 711. Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold.] The syntax is remarkable : *Which* governed not by the verb next following, but by the last in the sentence, NEWTON.

Ver. 723. *Triumphs*] See Mr. Warton's note on *Samson*, 1313.

Ibid. ————— *preach'd*

Conversion and repentance, as to souls

In prison,] This account of Noah's preaching is founded chiefly upon St. Peter, 1 *Pet.* iii. 19, 20 ; As what follows of

But all in vain : which when he saw, he ceas'd
Contending, and remov'd his tents far off ;
Then, from the mountain hewing timber tall,
Began to build a vessel of huge bulk ;
Measur'd by cubit, length, and breadth, and
highth ;

Smear'd round with pitch ; and in the side a door
Contriv'd ; and of provisions laid in large,
For man and beast : when lo, a wonder strange !
Of every beast, and bird, and insect small,
Came flocks, and pairs ; and enter'd in as taught
Their order : last the fire and his three sons, 736
With their four wives ; and God made fast the
door.

Mean while the south-wind rose, and, with black wings

his desisting, when he found his preaching ineffectual, and of removing into another country, is taken from Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. i. c. 3. NEWTON.

Ver. 730. *Measur'd by cubit, length, and breadth, and highth ;
Smear'd round with pitch ; &c.] See Gen. vi. 14,
15, 16. NEWTON,*

Ver. 732. ——— and of provisions laid in large,] He uses the adjective adverbially here and elsewhere, as is common in Latin. "*Magnūmque fluentem Nilum,*" Virg. *Georg.* iii. 28.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 735. *Came sevens, and pairs ;*] *Sevens* of clean creatures, and *pairs* of unclean. For this, and other particulars here mentioned, see *Gen. vii.* NEWTON.

Ver. 738. *Mean while the south-wind rose, and, with black wings
Wide hovering, all the clouds together drove
From under Heaven; &c.*] Addison and Dr. New-

Wide-hovering, all the clouds together drove
 From under Heaven; the hills to their supply 740
 Vapour, and exhalation dusk and moist,
 Sent up amain; and now the thicken'd sky
 Like a dark cieling stood; down rush'd the rain
 Impetuous; and continued, till the earth
 No more was seen: the floating vessel swum 745
 Uplifted, and secure with beaked prow
 Rode tilting o'er the waves; all dwellings else
 Flood overwhelm'd, and them with all their pomp

ton have noticed the superiority of the English poet to Ovid, in the description of the Deluge. Homer, who is supposed by Eustatius to have alluded to the Mosaiack account of the Flood in the following fine verses, appears to have escaped their observation, *Iliad* xvi. 384.

Ὡς δ' ὑπὸ λαίλαπι πᾶσα κελευμένη βίβριθε χθὼν
 Ἡμεῖς ὕπνῳ, ὅτε λαβρότατοι χεῖρ' ὕδωρ
 Ζεὺς, ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἀνδρῶσι κυττασάμινος χαλεπήγη,
 Οἱ βίη ἐν ἀγορῇ σκολῖας κρύψαι θέμιστας,
 Ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσσωσι, θίων ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλείγοντες·
 Τῶν δὲ τε πάντες μὲν ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ρέοντες,
 Πολλὰς δὲ κλισυς τότε ἀπομήψεται χαράδραι,
 Ἐς δ' ἄλλα πορφυρέην μεγάλην σινάχῃσι ῥέουσαι
 Ἐξ ὀρέων ἐπὶ κᾶρ' μινύθει δὲ τε ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.

Ver. 743. *Like a dark cieling*] *Cieling* may be thought too mean a word in poetry; but Milton had a view to its derivation from *cælum* (Latin) *cielo* (Italian) *heaven*. RICHARDSON.

Cieling had been used before in English poetry. Thus G. Fletcher, in his *Christ's Triumph*, calls the sky "the *cielung* gay, starred aloft," ft. 26. And Drummond begins *The Shadow of the Judgement* thus;

"Above those boundless bounds, where stars do move,
 "The *cielung* of the crystal round above."

Deep under water roll'd ; sea cover'd sea,
 Sea without shore ; and in their palaces, 750
 Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters whelp'd
 And stabled ; of mankind, so numerous late,
 All left, in one small bottom swum imbark'd.
 How didst thou grieve then, Adam, to behold
 The end of all thy offspring, end so sad, 755
 Depopulation ! Thee another flood,
 Of tears and sorrow a flood, thee also drown'd,
 And sunk thee as thy sons ; till, gently rear'd
 By the Angel, on thy feet thou stood'st at last,
 Though comfortless ; as when a father mourns 760
 His children, all in view destroy'd at once ;
 And scarce to the Angel utter'dst thus thy plaint.

O visions ill foreseen ! Better had I
 Liv'd ignorant of future ! so had borne
 My part of evil only, each day's lot 765

Ver. 750. ——— and in their palaces,
Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters whelp'd
And stabled ;] Lycophron, *Cassand.* 82. edit.

Potter.

Φρυγὸν δὲ, καὶ δρύκαρπα, καὶ γλαυκὸν βότρυον
 Φύλαι τε, καὶ δελφῖνες, αἱ τ' ἐπ' ἀρσίῳ
 Φίβοιο φῶκαι λίετρα θουρῶσαι βροτῶν.

Ver. 752. ——— of mankind, so numerous late,
All left, in one small bottom swum embark'd.] See
 Vida's *Christiad.* lib: i.

“ Omnibus hic pauci, extinctis mortalibus, ibant

“ Inclusi ligno fummas impunè per undas.” THYER.

Ver. 765. ——— each day's lot
Enough to bear ;] *Matth.* vi. 34. “ Sufficient
 unto the day is the evil thereof.” NEWTON.

Enough to bear ; those now, that were dispens'd
 The burden of many ages, on me light
 At once, by my foreknowledge gaining birth
 Abortive, to torment me ere their being,
 With thought that they must be. Let no man seek
 Henceforth to be foretold, what shall befall 771
 Him or his children ; evil he may be sure,
 Which neither his foreknowing can prevent ;
 And he the future evil shall no less
 In apprehension than in substance feel, 775
 Grievous to bear : but that care now is past,

Ver. 766. ————— dispens'd

The burden of many ages,] Distributed, dealt out in parcels, to be a sufficient burden, the load of many ages. *Dispensare* from *penso* to weigh ; thence comes the word *pensum*, the quantity of wool that was weighed out to the maids to spin ; thence it means a task in general ; and, to *dispense*, is to distribute these tasks to every one. The word is used with great propriety, and in the true antique sense. See also B. iii. 579.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 770. *Let no man seek &c.*] This monition was not impertinent at a time, when the folly of casting nativities was still in use. WARBURTON.

Ver. 773. *Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,*] Dr. Bentley says that nothing follows as sequel to *neither*, and supposes he gave it,

“ Which *never* his foreknowing can prevent.

But *neither* is not always followed by *nor*, but sometimes by *and* ; and I wonder the doctor should object to this manner of speaking, when it is so frequent and so elegant in Latin. “ *Vide quid agas, ne neque illi proflis, et tu percas.*” Terence *Eun.* “ *Homo neque meo judicio stultus, et suo valde sapiens.*” Cicero *de Oratore.*

NEWTON.

Shall, with their freedom lost, all virtue lose
 And fear of God ; from whom their piety feign'd
 In sharp contest of battle found no aid 800
 Against invaders ; therefore, cool'd in zeal,
 Thenceforth shall practise how to live secure,
 Worldly or dissolute, on what their lords
 Shall leave them to enjoy ; for the earth shall bear
 More than enough, that temperance may be tried :
 So all shall turn degenerate, all deprav'd ; 806
 Justice and temperance, truth and faith, forgot ;
 One man except, the only son of light
 In a dark age, against example good,
 Against allurements, custom, and a world 810
 Offended : fearless of reproach and scorn,
 Or violence, he of their wicked ways
 Shall them admonish ; and before them set
 The paths of righteousness, how much more safe,
 And full of peace ; denouncing wrath to come 815
 On their impenitence ; and shall return
 Of them derided, but of God observ'd

Ver. 798. *Shall, with their freedom lost, all virtue lose*] Milton every where shows his love of liberty ; and here he observes very rightly, that the loss of liberty is soon followed by the loss of all virtue and religion. There are such sentiments in several parts of his *Prose-Works*, as well as in Aristotle and other masters of Politicks. NEWTON.

Ver. 816. ————— and shall return

Of them derided, &c.] Alluding perhaps to *Wisdom*, v. 3. " This was he whom we had sometimes in *derision*, and a proverb of reproach. We fools accounted his life madness, and his end to be without honour. How is he numbered among the children of God, and his lot is among the saints !" See also chap. iv. 17.

The one just man alive ; by his command
 Shall build a wonderous ark, as thou beheldst,
 To save himself, and household, from amidst 820
 A world devote to universal wrack.
 No sooner he, with them of man and beast
 Select for life, shall in the ark be lodg'd,
 And shelter'd round ; but all the cataracts
 Of Heaven set open on the Earth shall pour 825
 Rain, day and night ; all fountains of the deep,
 Broke up, shall heave the ocean to usurp
 Beyond all bounds ; till inundation rise
 Above the highest hills : Then shall this mount
 Of Paradise by might of waves be mov'd 830

Ver. 824. ————— *all the cataracts*

Of Heaven set open on the earth shall pour

Rain day and night ; all fountains of the deep

Broke up,] Gen. vii. 11. " The same day were

all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the *windows* of Heaven were opened." The *windows* of Heaven are translated the *cataracts* in the Syriack and Arabick versions, and in the Septuagint and Vulgar Latin, which Milton here follows ; and what they are, those will best understand who have seen the fallings of waters, called *spouts*, in hot countries, when the clouds do not break into drops, but fall with terrible violence in a torrent : and *the great deep* is the vast abyfs of waters contained within the bowels of the earth, and in the sea. NEWTON.

So Diodati, *Salmos* 78.

" De l' alto ciel le cateratte aperte." BOWLE.

Ver. 829. ————— *then shall this mount*

Of Paradise &c.] It is the opinion of many learned men, that Paradise was destroyed by the Deluge ; and Milton describes it in a very poetical manner. *Push'd by the borned flood*, so that it was before the flood became universal, and

Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
 With all his verdure spoil'd, and trees adrift,
 Down the great river to the opening gulf,

while it poured along like a vast river; for rivers, when they meet with any thing to obstruct their passage, divide themselves and become *horned*, as it were; and hence the ancients have compared them to *bulls*. Thus Horace, *Od.* IV. xiv. 25.

“ Sic *tauriformis* volvitur Aufidus.”

And Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 371.

“ Et gemina auratus *taurino* cornua vultu

“ Eridanus.”

Again, *Æn.* viii. 77.

“ *Corniger* Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.”

NEWTON.

See however Baxter's and Gefner's notes on the passage quoted from Horace. Mr. Bowle also cites the following beautiful passage from Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. st. 46.

“ Sovra i rotti confini alza la fronte

“ Di *tauro*, e vincitor d' intorno inonda;

“ E con più *cornu* Adria respinge, &c.”

And from Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xliii. st. 53.

“ Ove le *cornu* il Po iracondo abbassa.”

I will add an instance from our own poetry. Thus, in Browne's *Brit. Pastorals*, 1616. B. ii. S. v.

“ And now the *horned flood* bore to our ile

“ His head more high, &c.”

Ver. 833. *Down the great river to the opening gulf,*] Down the river Tigris or Euphrates to the Persian gulf: They were both rivers of Eden; and Euphrates particularly is called in Scripture *the great river*, *the river Euphrates*, Gen. xv. 18. It is very probable that Milton took the first thought of pushing *Paradise* by the force of floods into the sea from Homer, who

And there take root an island salt and bare,
 The haunt of seals, and orcs, and sea-mews' clang :
 To teach thee that God attributes to place 836
 No sanctity, if none be thither brought

describes the destruction of the Grecian wall by an inundation very much in the same poetical manner, *Iliad*. xii. 24.

Τῶν πάντων ὁμοσε γόματ' ἔραπι Φαίβοιο Ἀπόλλων,
 Ἐνήμερ δ' ἐς τεύχεσσι ἰείρον' ἔειδ' ἄρα Ζεὺς
 Συναχὲς, ὅφρα καὶ δάσσοι ἀλίπλοα τεύχεα δαίη. NEWTON.

Ver. 835. ————— and orcs,] “*Orca* est genus marinæ belluæ maximum.” Fest. The word occurs frequently in Ariosto.

HEYLIN.

The *orcs* are repeatedly mentioned in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, and in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*. It is a species of whale, and derives its name “ab ore, cujus, ut et totius corporis, figura est rotunda et extrema admodum tenuis.” See Franzii Hist. Animal. Sacra, pars iii. cap. iii.

Ibid. ————— and *sea-mews* clang:] So, in B. vii. 422, “With *clang* despis'd the ground;” adopting the *clangor* of the Latins, which is a word that they almost constantly use to express the noise made by the flight of large flocks of birds.

THYER.

Ver. 836. *To teach thee that God attributes to place No sanctity, &c.*] Milton omits no opportunity of lashing what he thought superstitious. These lines may serve as one instance; and I think he plainly here alludes to the manner of consecrating churches used by Archbishop Laud, which was prodigiously clamoured against by people of our author's way of thinking, as superstitious and popish. THYER.

Milton is supposed to have been here indebted to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*; See A. iv. S. iv. edit. Seward, 1750. vol. vi.

“’Tis not *high* Power that makes a place divine,
 “Nor that the men from Gods derive their line;
 “But *sacred thoughts, in holy bosom stor'd,*
 “*Make* people noble, and the place ador'd.”

By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.
And now, what further shall ensue, behold.

He look'd, and saw the ark hull on the flood,
Which now abated; for the clouds were fled, 841
Driven by a keen north-wind, that, blowing dry,
Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd;

The reader will probably be reminded, by this passage, of a similar thought in Dr. Johnson's verses upon *Lichkenneth*; in which he alludes to the circumstance of Miss M'Lean's reading the evening service, on the Sunday; in which he joined. See Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, 1785. p. 408.

“ Quid quod sacrifici versavit fœmina libros,
“ Legitimas faciunt pectora pura preces.”

Ver. 840. ——— *the ark hull on the flood,*] A ship is said to *hull* when all her sails are taken down, and she floats to and fro. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 841. *Which now abated; for the clouds were fled,
Driven by a keen north-wind,*] The Scripture says only that *God made a wind to pass over the earth*; it is most probable that it was a north-wind, as that is such a drying wind: but our poet follows Ovid in this as well as several other particulars, *Met.* i. 328.

“ Nubila disjecit; nimbiſque Aquilone remotis,
“ Et cœlo terras ostendit, et æthæra terris.—
“ Jam mare littus habet; plenos capit alveus amnes;
“ Flumina ſubſidunt; colles exire videntur;
“ Surgit humus; creſcunt loca decreſcentibus undis.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 843. *Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd;*] This allusive comparison of the surface of the decreasing waters, wrinkled by the wind, to the wrinkles of a decaying old age is very far fetched and extremely boyish; but the author makes us ample amends, in the remaining part of this description of the abating of the flood. The circumstances of it are few, but se-

And the clear fun on his wide watery glafs
 Gaz'd hot, and of the fresh wave largely drew, 845
 As after thirst; which made their flowing shrink
 From standing lake to tripping ebb, that stole

lected with great judgement, and expressed with no less spirit and beauty. In this respect, it must be owned, Milton greatly excels the Italians, who are generally too prolix in their descriptions, and think they have never said enough whilst any thing remains unsaid. When once enough is said to excite in the reader's mind a proper idea of what the poet is representing, whatever is added, however beautiful, serves only to teize the fancy instead of pleasing it; and rather cools, than improves, that glow of pleasure, which arises in the mind upon its first contemplation of any surprizing scene of nature well painted out. Of this Milton was very sensible, and throughout his whole poem has scarcely ever been hurried, by his imagination, into any thing inconsistent with it. THYER.

Ver. 846. ——— *which made their flowing shrink*] *Their* I suppose refers to *wave* before mentioned as a noun of multitude, of the plural number. It is not easy to account for the syntax otherwise. NEWTON.

Ver. 847. *From standing lake to tripping ebb,*] Tripping, from *tripudiare*, to dance, to step lightly upon the toes; a natural description of *soft-ebbing*, as in B. vii. 300: And so it follows, *that stole with soft foot*. This bold personizing is perpetually used by the Greek, and consequently by the Latin, poets, who always imitate them. Horace, *Epod.* xvi. 47.

————— “*montibus altis*

“*Levis crepante Lympha defilit pede.*” RICHARDSON.

In Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the phrase *tripping* is usually applied to the rivers personified: Thus, in Song xiii, “the Avon *trips* along;” in Song xv, “the Isis from her source comes *tripping* with delight;” and in Song xxvi, “Darwin from her fount comes *tripping* down towards Trent.” Hence perhaps the expression, “*tripping ebb.*”

With soft foot towards the Deep ; who now had
stopt

His sluces, as the Heaven his windows shut.
The ark no more now floats, but seems on ground,
Fast on the top of some high mountain fix'd. 851
And now the tops of hills, as rocks, appear ;
With clamour thence the rapid currents drive,
Towards the retreating sea, their furious tide.
Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies, 855
And after him, the surer messenger,
A dove sent forth once and again to spy
Green tree or ground, whereon his foot may light :
The second time returning, in his bill
An olive-leaf he brings, pacifick sign : 860
Anon dry ground appears, and from his ark
The ancient fire descends, with all his train ;
Then with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,
Grateful to Heaven, over his head beholds
A dewy cloud, and in the cloud a bow 865
Conspicuous with three lifted colours gay,
Betokening peace from God, and covenant new.

Ver. 848. ————— *the Deep ; who now had stopt*
His sluces, &c.] See *Gen.* viii. 2, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 866. *Conspicuous with three lifted colours gay,*] He afterwards calls it “ the *triple-colour’d bow*,” v. 897 ; and he means probably the *three* principal colours, red, yellow, and blue, of which the others are compounded. NEWTON.

He says “ *three colours*,” as Mr. Stillingfleet observes, according to the Peripatetick Philosophy. See Aristotelis Opp. 1629, vol. ii. p. 575.

Whereat the heart of Adam, erst so sad,
Greatly rejoic'd; and thus his joy broke forth.

O thou, who future things canst represent 870
As present, heavenly Instructor! I revive
At this last sight; assur'd that Man shall live,
With all the creatures, and their seed preserve.
Far less I now lament for one whole world
Of wicked sons destroy'd, than I rejoice 875
For one man found so perfect, and so just,
That God vouchsafes to raise another world
From him, and all his anger to forget.
But say, what mean those colour'd streaks in
Heaven

Distended, as the brow of God appeas'd? 880
Or serve they, as a flowery verge, to bind
The fluid skirts of that same watery cloud,
Left it again dissolve, and shower the earth?

To whom the Arch-Angel. Dextrously thou
aim'st;

Ver. 880. ——— as the brow of God appeas'd?] Fenton
proposed to read “the brow of God.” But the sublimity of
Milton's expression, “the brow of God appeas'd,” is too ob-
vious to require any alteration.

Ver. 884. *To whom the Arch-Angel. &c.*] The reader will
easily observe how much of this speech is built upon Scripture.

“Though late repenting him of Man depriv'd,

“Griev'd at his heart, —”

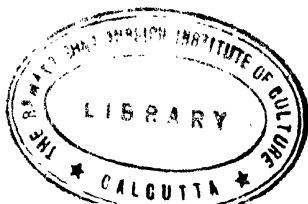
“And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth,
and it grieved him at his heart.” Gen. vi. 6.

————— “when looking down he saw

“The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh

“Corrupting each their way; —”

D d 4



So willingly doth God remit his ire, 885
Though late repenting him of Man deprav'd;

"The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth."
ver. 11, 12.

"Such grace shall one just man find in his sight,"

"But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord," ver. 8.

"And makes a covenant never to destroy

"The earth again by flood," —

"And I will establish my covenant with you, neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood, neither shall there be any more a flood to destroy the earth." Gen. ix. 11.

———— "but when he brings

"Over the earth a cloud, will therein set

"His triple-colour'd bow, whereon to look,

"And call to mind his covenant:" —

"And it shall come to pass when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud: and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth," ver. 14, 16.

———— "day and night,

"Seed-time and harvest, heat and hoary frost

"Shall hold their course," —

"While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease,"
Gen. viii. 22.

———— "till fire purge all things new,

"Both Heaven and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell."

"The Heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat: nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness," II Pet. iii. 12, 13. NEWTON.

Ver. 886. *Though late repenting him*] Fenton seems to have misunderstood this passage, by his pointing of this line; which has been followed in some succeeding editions:

"Though late repenting him &c."

Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he saw
 The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh
 Corrupting each their way; yet, those remov'd,
 Such grace shall one just man find in his sight, 890
 That he relents, not to blot out mankind;
 And makes a covenant never to destroy
 The earth again by flood; nor let the sea
 Surpass his bounds; nor rain to drown the world,
 With man therein or beast; but, when he brings
 Over the earth a cloud, will therein set 896
 His triple-colour'd bow, whereon to look,
 And call to mind his covenant: Day and night,
 Seed-time and harvest, heat and hoary frost,
 Shall hold their course; till fire purge all things
 new, 1000
 Both Heaven and Earth, wherein the just shall
 dwell.

Dr. Bentley removed the comma after *late*, agreeably to Milton's own, and all the old, editions. For the sense is, "Though lately repenting him, &c."

Ver. 895. *With man therein or beast;*] Dr. Bentley reads *With man or beast or fowl*; because (as he says) the birds are here forgot, and yet they were in the ark as well as the beasts, and were included in the covenant too. But, in the Scripture phrase, *man and beast* comprehend the birds too: See *Psal.* xxxvi. 6. *Jerem.* xxi. 6. and xxxii. 43. And our poet has twice before (ver. 733, 822,) spoken of all the inhabitants of the ark under this very title of *man and beast*. PEARCE.

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE
TWELFTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE Angel Michael continues, from the Flood, to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain, who that Seed of the Woman shall be, which was promised Adam and Eve in the Fall; his incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension; the state of the church till his second coming. Adam, greatly satisfied and recomforted by these relations and promises, descends the hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams composed to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradise, the fiery sword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their stations to guard the place.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XII.

AS one who in his journey bates at noon,
Though bent on speed; so here the Arch-
Angel paus'd

Betwixt the world destroy'd and world restor'd,
If Adam aught perhaps might interpose; 4
Then, with transition sweet, new speech resumes.

Thus thou hast seen one world begin, and end;
And Man, as from a second stock, proceed.
Much thou hast yet to see; but I perceive
Thy mortal sight to fail; objects divine
Must needs impair and weary human sense: 10
Henceforth what is to come I will relate;
Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.

Ver. 1. *As one &c.*] In the first edition, before the last book was divided into two, the narration went on without any interruption; but, upon that division in the second edition, these first five lines were inserted. This addition begins the book very gracefully, and is indeed, to apply the author's own words, a *sweet transition*. NEWTON.

Ver. 11. *Henceforth what is to come I will relate;*] The reader will have observed that Addison's objection to this part of the history being exhibited in narrative, is fully considered and answered in the notes on his *Critique*, in the first volume.

This second sourse of Men, while yet but few,
 And while the dread of judgement past remains
 Fresh in their minds, fearing the Deity, 15
 With some regard to what is just and right
 Shall lead their lives, and multiply apace ;
 Labouring the soil, and reaping plenteous crop,
 Corn, wine, and oil ; and, from the herd or flock,
 Oft sacrificing bullock, lamb, or kid, 20
 With large wine-offerings pour'd, and sacred
 feast,
 Shall spend their days in joy unblam'd ; and dwell
 Long time in peace, by families and tribes,
 Under paternal rule : till one shall rise

Ver. 16. *With some regard to what is just and right*] This answers to the silver age of the poets ; the Paradisiacal state is the golden one. That of iron begins soon, ver. 24.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 21. *With large wine-offerings pour'd,*] See *Exod.* xxix. 40.

Ver. 24. ———— *till one shall rise &c.*] It is generally agreed that the first governments in the world were patriarchal, by families and tribes ; and that Nimrod was the first, who laid the foundations of kingly government among mankind. Milton therefore (who was no friend to kingly government at the best) represents him in a very bad light, as a most wicked and insolent tyrant ; but he has great authorities, both Jewish and Christian, to justify him for so doing. The Scripture says of Nimrod, *Gen. x. 9.* that “ *he was a mighty hunter before the Lord :*” And this our author understands in the worst sense, of hunting men and not beasts——*and men not beasts shall be his game.* But several commentators understand it in the same manner, and the Scripture applies the word to hunting of men by persecution, oppression, and tyranny. *Jer. xvi. 16. Lam. iv. 18. Ezek. xiii.*

Of proud ambitious heart; who, not content 25
 With fair equality, fraternal state,
 Will arrogate dominion undeserv'd
 Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
 Concord and law of nature from the earth;
 Hunting (and men not beasts shall be his game)
 With war, and hostile snare, such as refuse 13
 Subjection to his empire tyrannous:

18, 20. And so the Jerusalem Targum here expounds it of a *sinful hunting of the sons of men*. The phrase *before the Lord* seems to be perfectly indifferent in itself, and made use of only by way of exaggeration: but in this place the greatest number of interpreters take it in a bad sense, in the same manner as when it is said of the men of Sodom that they were "*sinners before the Lord,*" Gen. xiii. 13; as also of Er, the eldest son of Judah, that he was "*wicked in the sight of the Lord,*" Gen. xxxviii. 7. And St. Austin in particular would have it translated not "*before the Lord*" but "*against the Lord.*" Our author, in conformity to this opinion, says *Before the Lord, as in despite of Heaven*, but then takes in the other interpretation of Vatablus and others, that "*before the Lord*" is the same as "*under the Lord,*" usurping all authority to himself next under God, and claiming it *jure divino*, as was done in Milton's own time; *And from rebellion shall derive his name*, for the name Nimrod, though more favourable etymologies are given, yet commonly is derived from the Hebrew word *marad* which signifies to *rebel*; and this probably was the principal occasion of those injurious reports which have prevailed in the world concerning him. *Though of rebellion others he accuse*. This was added by our author, probably not without a view to his own time; when himself, and those of his own party, were stigmatized as the worst of rebels. NEWTON.

The circumstance of Nimrod's *hunting men*, is thus noticed in Sylvester's *Du Bart*. 1621, p. 253.

"Leaves hunting beasts, and hunteth men to trap."

A mighty hunter thence he shall be styl'd
 Before the Lord ; as in despite of Heaven,
 Or from Heaven, claiming second sovereignty ; 35
 And from rebellion shall derive his name,
 Though of rebellion others he accuse.
 He with a crew, whom like ambition joins
 With him or under him to tyrannize, 39
 Marching from Eden towards the west, shall find
 The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
 Boils out from under ground, the mouth of Hell:
 Of brick, and of that stuff, they cast to build
 A city and tower, whose top may reach to
 Heaven ;

Ver. 40. *Marching from Eden towards the west, &c.*] *Gen.*
xi. 2. &c. “ And it came to pass as they journeyed from the
 east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar—And they
 had brick for stone, and *slime* had they for mortar. And they
 said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may
 reach unto Heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scat-
 tered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.” The Hebrew
ebemar, which we translate *slime*, is what the Greeks call *asphal-*
tus and the Latins *bitumen*, a kind of pitch ; and, that it abounded
 very much in the plain near Babylon, that it swam upon the
 waters, that there was a cave and fountain continually emitting
 it, and that this famous tower at this time, and the no less
 famous walls of Babylon afterwards, were built with this kind
 of cement, is confirmed by the testimony of several profane
 authors. This *black bituminous gurge*, this pitchy pool, the poet
 calls *the mouth of Hell*, not strictly speaking, but by the same
 sort of figure by which the ancient poets call Tænarus or Avernus
 the jaws and gate of Hell, Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 467.

“ Tænaras etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis.”

NEWTON.

And get themselves a name ; left, far dispers'd 45
 In foreign lands, their memory be lost ;
 Regardless whether good or evil fame.
 But God, who oft descends to visit men
 Unseen, and through their habitations walks
 To mark their doings, them beholding soon, 50
 Comes down to see their city, ere the tower
 Obstruct Heaven-towers ; and in derision sets
 Upon their tongues a various spirit, to raise
 Quite out their native language ; and, instead,
 To sow a jangling noise of words unknown : 55
 Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud,
 Among the builders ; each to other calls
 Not understood ; till hoarse, and all in rage,
 As mock'd they storm : great laughter was in
 Heaven,

Ver. 51. *Comes down to see their city, &c.*] *Gen. xi. 5, &c.*
 “ *And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which
 the children of men builded, &c.*” The Scripture speaketh here
 after the manner of men : And thus the Heathen Gods are often
 represented as coming down to observe the actions of men ; as in
 the stories of Lycaon, Baucis and Philemon, &c. NEWTON.

See also *Gen. xviii. 21*, and *Acts xiv. 11*.

Ver. 53. ——— *a various spirit,*] *II Chron. xviii. 22.*
 It is said the Lord had put *a lying spirit* in the mouth of the
 prophets ; here he puts *a various spirit* in the mouth of these
 builders, a spirit varying the sounds by which they would
 express their thoughts one to another, and bringing consequently
confusion ; whence the work is so called. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 59. ——— *great laughter was in Heaven, &c.*] *]*
 Dr. Bentley has made some alterations here ; and, the context
 considered, I know not whether they are not for the better :

And looking down, to see the hubbub strange, 60
 And hear the din : Thus was the building left
 Ridiculous, and the work *Confusion* nam'd.

———" great laughter *is* in Heaven

" *All* looking down——

———" thus *is* the building left :"

but afterwards I find the author varying the tense in several places, and speaking of things future as past ; future with regard to the time when the Angel is speaking, but past with regard to the time which he is speaking of.

Great laughter was in Heaven &c. And thus Homer represents the Gods as laughing at the awkward limping carriage of Vulcan in waiting, *Iliad*, i. 599, &c.

But, as Mr. Thyer adds, it is rather too comick for the grave character of Milton's Gods to be represented peeping down, and laughing, like a parcel of mere mortals, to see the workmen puzzled and squabbling about their work : though there are such expressions even in Scripture, *Psal.* ii. 4. "*He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh ; the Lord shall have them in derision.*" See also *Psal.* xxxvii. 13, lix. 8, and *Prov.* i. 26. NEWTON.

Ver. 60. ———— *to see the hubbub strange,*] This word is made use of by Spenser, as Mr. Bowle also observes, *Faer. Qu.* iii. x. 43.

" And shrieking *hubbubs* them approaching nere."

Milton thus employs it also, B. ii. 951.

———" a universal *hubbub* wild

" Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd &c."

Ver. 62. ———— *and the work Confusion nam'd.*] For *Babel* in Hebrew signifies *Confusion*. See *Gen.* xi. 9. As the poet represents this confusion among the builders as an object of ridicule, so he makes use of some ridiculous words, which are not very usual in poetry, to heighten that ridicule, as *jangling noise*, *hideous gabble*, *strange hubbub*. NEWTON.

Hubbub, as I have observed, is used by Spenser ; and *jangling noise* may have been adopted from the description of the confusion of tongues, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 255.

Whereto thus Adam, fatherly displeas'd.
 O execrable son ! so to aspire
 Above his brethren ; to himself assuming 65
 Authority usurp'd, from God not given :
 He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
 Dominion absolute ; that right we hold
 By his donation ; but man over men
 He made not lord ; such title to himself 70
 Reserving, human left from human free.
 But this usurper his encroachment proud
 Stays not on Man ; to God his tower intends
 Siege and defiance : Wretched man ! what food
 Will he convey up thither, to sustain 75
 Himself and his rash army ; where thin air
 Above the clouds will pine his entrails gross,
 And famish him of breath, if not of bread ?
 To whom thus Michael. Justly thou abhorr'st

“ This said, as soon confusedly did bound

“ Through all the work I wot not what strange sound,

“ A jangling noise.”

Ver. 71. ——— *human left from human free.*] Left mankind in full and free possession of their liberty. “ *Rationalem factum ad imaginem suam noluit nisi irrationalibus dominari, non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori.*” Aug. de Civ. Dei, c. 15. l. 19. HUME.

Ver. 73. ——— *to God his tower intends &c.*] This being not asserted in Scripture, but only supposed by some writers, is better put into the mouth of Adam, than of the Angel. I wish the poet had taken the same care in ver. 51.

————— “ ere the tower

“ Obstruct Heaven-towers.” NEWTON.

That son, who on the quiet state of mén 80
 Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
 Rational liberty ; yet know withal,
 Since thy original lapse, true liberty
 Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
 Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being :
 Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd, 86
 Immediately inordinate desires,
 And upstart passions, catch the government
 From reason ; and to servitude reduce
 Man, till then free. Therefore, since he permits
 Within himself unworthy powers to reign 91

Ver. 81. *Such trouble brought,*] Dr. Bentley reads *brings*, because this is not, he says, told here as a thing past. But Michael is not telling any thing here : he is only making a reflection upon what he had been telling Adam just before, in ver. 27 ; and, it having been already told, the reflection made upon it may justly speak of it as a thing past. PEARCE.

Ver. 83. *Since thy original lapse,*] Thus it is in Milton's own editions. In Fenton's, Dr. Bentley's, and other editions, it is " Since *by* original lapse," which makes hardly sense or syntax. NEWTON.

Ibid. *Since thy original lapse, true liberty*
Is lost,] *John* viii. 34. " Whosoever committeth sin, is the slave of sin." II *Cor.* iii. 17. " Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." GILLIES.

Ver. 84. — *which always with right reason dwells*
Twinn'd,] Some editions read *twinn'd* ; and Mr. Hume explains it *twisted together* with right reason : But in Milton's own editions it is printed *twinn'd* ; and I presume he means *twinn'd at a birth* with right reason. Liberty and virtue (*which is reason*, ver. 98) are twin-sisters, and the one hath no being divided from the other. NEWTON.

Over free reason, God, in judgement just,
 Subjects him from without to violent lords;
 Who oft as undeservedly enthrall
 His outward freedom: Tyranny must be; 95
 Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse.
 Yet sometimes nations will decline so low
 From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,
 But justice, and some fatal curse annex'd,
 Deprives them of their outward liberty; 100
 Their inward lost: Witness the irreverent son
 Of him who built the ark; who, for the shame
 Done to his father, heard this heavy curse,

Ver. 95. ——— Tyranny must be;

Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse.] The turn of the words is similar to the following passage in Scripture, to which Mr. Stillingfleet also refers: "It must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh," *Matt.* xviii. 7.

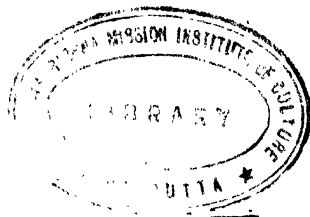
Ver. 97. *Yet sometimes nations will decline so low &c.*] So, in his *Hist. of Britain*, B. v. c. 1. "But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it."

Ver. 101. ——— Witness the irreverent son &c.] See *Gen.* ix. 22, 25. HUME.

Does not Milton here forget, that the Angel had not before mentioned the story of Ham's uncovering his father's nakedness? The urging it by way of example seems to infer its being known to Adam, which yet it could not be. THYER.

Ver. 103. ——— heard this heavy curse,] So it is in Milton's own editions, but in others "his heavy curse."

NEWTON.



Servant of servants, on his vicious race.
 Thus will this latter, as the former world, 105
 Still tend from bad to worse; till God at last,
 Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
 His presence from among them, and avert
 His holy eyes; resolving from thenceforth
 To leave them to their own polluted ways; 110
 And one peculiar nation to select
 From all the rest, of whom to be invoc'd,
 A nation from one faithful man to spring:
 Him on this side Euphrates yet residing,
 Bred up in idol-worship; O, that men 115

The corruption first occurs in Tonson's edition of 1711, and is followed in Tickell's, Fenton's, and Bentley's.

Ver. 105. *Thus will this latter, as the former world,
 Still tend from bad to worse:]* Almost a literal translation from Euripides, *Hippol.* v. 951.

Εἰ γὰρ κατ' ἀνδρὸς βίοντι ἐξογκώσεται,
 Ὅ δ' ὕστερος τῷ πρόσθεν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν
 Πανέργος ἔσται, κ. τ. λ.

Ver. 114. *Him on this side Euphrates yet residing,]* That is, not *yet* when Michael was speaking; but *yet*, when God resolved to select one peculiar nation from all the rest, ver. 111. No need therefore for Dr. Bentley's word *then*, instead of *yet*.

PEARCE.

Ver. 115. *Bred up in idol-worship:]* We read in *Josbua* xxiv. 2. "*Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor, and they served other Gods.*" Now as Terah, Abraham's father, was an idolater, I think we may be certain that Abraham was bred up in the religion of his father, though he renounced it afterwards, and in all probability converted his father likewise; for Terah removed with Abraham to Haran, and there died. See *Gen.* xi, 31, 32. NEWTON.

(Canst thou believe?) should be so stupid grown,
While yet the patriarch liv'd, who 'scap'd the
flood,

As to forsake the living God, and fall
To worship their own work in wood and stone
For Gods! Yet him God the Most High vouch-
safes

To call by vision, from his father's house, 121
His kindred, and false Gods, into a land
Which he will show him; and from him will
raise

A mighty nation; and upon him shower
His benediction so, that in his seed 125
All nations shall be blest: he straight obeys;
Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes:

Ver. 117. *While yet the patriarch liv'd, who 'scap'd the flood,*] It appears from the computations given by Moses, *Gen. xi.* that Terah, the father of Abraham, was born 222 years after the flood, but *Noah lived after the flood 350 years.* *Gen. ix. 28:* and we have proved from Joshua, that Terah, and the ancestors of Abraham, *served other Gods*; and from the Jewish traditions we learn further, that Terah, and Nachor his father, and Serug his grandfather, were statuaries and carvers of idols; And therefore idolatry was set up in the world, *while yet the patriarch liv'd, who 'scap'd the flood.* NEWTON,

Ver. 120. ——— *Yet him God the Most High &c.]* The same *him* repeated as in ver. 114. See *Gen. xii. 1, 2, 3.* NEWTON,

Compare *Judith.* v. 7, 8, 9,

Ver. 126. ——— *he straight obeys;*
Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes:]

Heb. xi. 8. NEWTON.

I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith
 He leaves his Gods, his friends, and native foil,
 Ur of Chaldæa, passing now the ford 130
 To Haran; after him a cumbrous train
 Of herds and flocks, and numerous servitude;
 Not wandering poor, but trusting all his wealth
 With God, who call'd him, in a land unknown.
 Canaan he now attains; I see his tents 135
 Pitch'd about Sechem, and the neighbouring
 plain
 Of Moreh; there by promise he receives
 Gift to his progeny of all that land,

Ver. 128. *I see him, but thou canst not, &c.*] Milton, sensible that this long historical description might grow irksome, has varied the manner of representing it as much as possible; beginning first with supposing Adam to have a prospect of it before his eyes; next, by making the Angel the relater of it; and lastly, by uniting the two former methods, and making Michael see it as in vision, and give a rapturous enlivened account of it to Adam. This gives great ease to the languishing attention of the reader. THYER.

Ver. 130. *Ur of Chaldæa, &c.*] See *Gen. xi. 31.* *Chaldæa*, a province of Asia, lying east of the Euphrates, and west of the Tigris: *Ur*, a city of Chaldæa, the country of Abraham and Terah. *Passing now the ford*, passing over the river Euphrates where it was fordable, *to Haran*: By this it should seem, that Milton conceived *Haran* to lie west of the river Euphrates; and I find M. Bafnage, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, maintains, that *Haran* was a town, at present unknown, out of the limits of Mesopotamia, in Syria of Shobah, in the way towards the land of Canaan. NEWTON.

Ver. 132. ————— *numerous servitude*;] Many servants; the abstract for the concrete. NEWTON.

From Hamath northward to the Defart fouth ;
 (Things by their names I call, though yet un-
 nam'd ;)

From Hermon east to the great western Sea ; 141
 Mount Hermon, yonder sea ; each place behold
 In prospect, as I point them ; on the shore
 Mount Carmel ; here, the double-founted stream,
 Jordan, true limit eastward ; but his sons 145
 Shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills.

This ponder, that all nations of the earth
 Shall in his seed be blessed : By that seed
 Is meant thy great Deliverer,* who shall bruise
 The Serpent's head ; whereof to thee anon 150
 Plainlier shall be reveal'd. This patriarch blest,
 Whom faithful Abraham due time shall call,

Ver. 139. *From Hamath northward &c.*] As the poet, in describing the departure and journey of Abraham, has minutely copied the sacred text, *Gen.* xii. 5, 6, 7 ; so here, in his exact account of the Promised Land, he interweaves, as Mr. Hume and Dr. Newton have observed, the following texts of Scripture, *Numb.* xxxiv. 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, and *Deut.* iii. 8, 9 ; subjoining the promise of the Messiah, made to Abraham, *Gen.* xii. 3.

The compound epithet, applied to Jordan, in ver. 144, might have been suggested by Sandys, who, in his account of the Holy Land, says it is “ watred by many springs and torrents, but not many riuers. *Jordan*, the prince of the rest : seeming to arise from *Jor*, and *Dan*, two not far distant *fountaines*.” *Travels*, &c. edit. 1615, p. 141.

Ver. 147. *This ponder,*] As if he had said, “ I mention other things for your information, but this you should particularly remember, and meditate upon.” NEWTON.

Ver. 152. *Whom faithful Abraham due time shall call,*] Milton, I believe, intended to make the name *Abraham* here

A son, and of his son a grand-child, leaves;
 Like him in faith, in wisdom, and renown:
 The grand-child, with twelve sons encreas'd,
 departs 155

From Canaan, to a land hereafter call'd .
 Egypt, divided by the river Nile;
 See where it flows, disgorging at seven mouths
 Into the sea: To sojourn in that land
 He comes, invited by a younger son 160
 In time of dearth; a son, whose worthy deeds
 Raise him to be the second in that realm
 Of Pharaoh: There he dies, and leaves his race
 Growing into a nation; and, now grown,
 Suspected to a fequent king, who seeks 165
 To stop their overgrowth, as inmate guests
 Too numerous; whence of guests he makes them
 slaves

Inhospitably, and kills their infant males:

consist of three syllables, in allusion to God's adding a syllable to it, *Gen.* xvii. 5. "Neither shall thy name any more be called *Abram*, but thy name shall be *Abraham*." PEARCE,

Abram signifies a great father; but *Abraham* is of larger extent, and signifies a father of many nations, NEWTON.

Ver. 155. ———— *with twelve sons encreas'd,*] A Latinism; as Plautus, *Trucul.* ii. vi. 34. "Cumque es aucta liberis." See also Tacitus, *Agric.* cap. vi. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 158. *See where it flows, disgorging at seven mouths*] This pointing to the river adds a liveliness to the narration; and the ancient poets seldom mention the river Nile, without taking notice of its *seven mouths*. See Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 800, Ovid, *Met.* i. 422, and *Met.* ii. 256. NEWTON.

Till by two brethren (these two brethren call
 Moses and Aaron) sent from God to claim 170
 His people from enthralment, they return
 With glory, and spoil, back to their promis'd land.
 But first, the lawless tyrant, who denies
 To know their God, or message to regard, 174
 Must be compell'd by signs and judgements dire;
 To blood unshed the rivers must be turn'd;
 Frogs, lice, and flies, must all his palace fill
 With loath'd intrusion, and fill all the land;
 His cattle must of rot and murren die;
 Botches and blains must all his flesh emboss, 180
 And all his people; thunder mix'd with hail,
 Hail mix'd with fire, must rend the Egyptian sky,
 And wheel on the earth, devouring where it rolls;
 What it devours not, herb, or fruit, or grain,
 A darksome cloud of locusts swarming down 185
 Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green;
 Darknefs must overshadow all his bounds,
 Palpable darknefs, and blot out three days;

Ver. 180. *Botches and blains must all his flesh emboss,*] *Emboss* signifies to *swell*, as in Shakspeare's *King Lear*, A. iv. S. ii.

“ thou art a boil,
 “ A plague-fore, an *embossed* carbuncle.”

Again, in *As you like it*, A. ii. S. vii.

“ And all the *embossed* sores, and headed evils.”

Ver. 188. *Palpable darknefs,*] “ Darknefs that may be felt,” says our our translation. In the vulgar Latin it is, “ *Tam densa ut palpari queant* ;” from which our author seems to have fetched the word *palpable*. NEWTON.

Laft, with one midnight-ftroke, all the firft-born
 Of Egypt muft lie dead. Thus with ten wounds
 The river-dragon tam'd at length fubmits 191
 To let his fojourners depart, and oft
 Humbles his ftubborn heart; but ftill, as ice
 More harden'd after thaw; till, in his rage
 Purfuing whom he late difmifs'd, the fea 195

Milton perhaps, in this defcription of the plagues of Egypt, rather alluded to Drayton, *Mofes's birth*, &c. 1630, B. ii.

“*Darkneffe* is now fo palpable—”

Thus alfo Henry More, in his *Song of the Soul*, defcribing the fame event, B. iii. ft. 32. 1642.

“Did not a *palpable* thick night invade

“The land of Egypt—”

See likewife the Preface of the *Translators of the Bible*. “Some thick and *palpable* clouds of *darknefs* would fo have overfhadowed this land that men would have been in doubt which way they were to walk.” Hence probably “the *palpable obfcure*,” B. ii. 406.

Ver. 191. The *river-dragon*] The firft edition has “*This river-dragon*,” but, in the fecond edition, it is altered to *The*, whether by the poet’s direction, or by a miftake of the printer, we cannot tell. PEARCE.

The river-dragon, as Addifon has obferved, is *Pharaoh*, in allufion to *Ezek.* xxix. 3.

Ver. 193. ————— as ice

More barden'd after thaw ;] For ice, gently warmed into a thaw, is made more receptive of thofe faline and nitrous particles, which fill the freezing air, and, infinuating themfelves into the water already weakened, are the caufe of a harder concretion.

“*Stiriâque impexis induruit horrida barbis.*”

Virg. *Georg.* iii. 366.

Icefles freeze, as they drop, into a wonderful hardnefs. HUMPH.

Swallows him with his host ; but them lets pass,
 As on dry land, between two crystal walls ;
 Aw'd by the rod of Moses so to stand
 Divided, till his rescued gain their shore :
 Such wonderous power God to his faint will lend,
 Though present in his Angel ; who shall go 201
 Before them in a cloud, and pillar of fire ;
 By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire ;
 To guide them in their journey, and remove
 Behind them, while the obdurate king pursues :
 All night he will pursue ; but his approach 206
 Darkness defends between till morning watch ;

Ver. 197. ————— *between two crystal walls ;*] So, in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 363, the Red Sea is thus described "with walls of crystal." This phrase has been transferred into a modern Epigram on the Children of Israel's passage out of Egypt :

" When Egypt's king God's chosen tribes pursued,
 " In crystal walls the admiring waters stood :
 " When through the desert wild they took their way,
 " The rocks relented, and pour'd forth a sea.
 " What limits can Almighty Goodness know,
 " Since seas can harden, and since rocks can flow !"

Ver. 206. ————— *but his approach &c.]* Exod. xiv. 19, 20. NEWTON.

Ver. 207. *Darkness defends between till morning watch ;*] *Darkness forbids, or keeps off.* So, in B. xi. 86. "'That defended fruit :'" where Hume has cited, from Chaucer's *Wife of Bathes Prologue*,

" Wher can ye seen in any maner age
 " That highe God defended mariage."

Thus also Spenser, as Dr. Newton observes, *Faer. Qu.* iv. iii. 32.

" Himself to save, and daunger to defend."

Then through the fiery pillar, and the cloud,
 God looking forth will trouble all his host,
 And craze their chariot-wheels : when by com-
 mand

210

Moses once more his potent rod extends
 Over the sea ; the sea his rod obeys ;
 On their embattled ranks the waves return,
 And overwhelm their war : The race elect
 Safe towards Canaan from the shore advance 215
 Through the wild Defart, not the readiest way ;

This, I may add, is the common sense of *defend* in our ancient laws and statutes. See Cunningham's *Law-Dict.* where many instances occur under the word *defend*. And thus the substantive *defence* for *prohibition*, as in Chaucer, *Troil. and Cressid.* lib. iii. 138. " If that I brekin your *defence*."

Ver. 210. *And craze their chariot-wheels :*] Bruise or break them in pieces. *Craze* from the French *ecrafer*, to bruise or break. So, in B. i. 311, the chariot-wheels are said to have been broken, though in *Exod.* xiv. 25, 'tis only said they were *taken off*, so that the chariots were *driven heavily*. Milton, who perfectly understood the original, has therefore expounded this *taking off* to be *breaking* ; though that may mean no more, than what we do when we say such a one is *crazy*, broken with age and disabled. RICHARDSON.

" The pot was *crafed*," is in Chaucer. See Lye's *Junius* upon the word *crafte*. NEWTON.

Ver. 216. ————— *not the readiest way ; &c.*] See *Exod.* xiii. 17, 18. HUME.

It is remarkable, that here Milton omits the moral cause (though he gives the poetical) of the Israelites wandering forty years in the wilderness ; and this was their poltron mutiny on the return of the spies. He omitted this with judgement ; for this last speech of the Angel was to give such a representation of things, as might convey comfort to Adam : otherwise the story of the brazen serpent would have afforded noble imagery.

WARBURTON.

Left, entering on the Canaanite alarm'd,
 War terrify them inexpert, and fear
 Return them back to Egypt, choosing rather
 Inglorious life with servitude ; for life 220
 To noble and ignoble is more sweet
 Untrain'd in arms, where rashness leads not on.
 This also shall they gain by their delay
 In the wide wilderness ; there they shall found
 Their government, and their great senate choose
 Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws or-
 dain'd : 226

God from the mount of Sinai, whose gray top
 Shall tremble, he descending, will himself
 In thunder, lightning, and loud trumpets' sound,
 Ordain them laws ; part, such as appertain 230

Ver. 227. ————— *whose gray top*] An usual epithet of mountains ; because the snow lies longer there than in the vallies, and upon some of their lofty brows all the year long.

————— “ *gelidus canis cum montibus humor*
 “ *Liquitur.*” Virg. *Georg.* i. 43. HUME.

But this epithet was more proper and peculiar to Sinai at that time, as it was covered with *clouds* and *smoke*. See *Exodus* xix.

NEWTON.

Ver. 228. ————— *he descending,*] Dr. Bentley reads “ *him* descending.” But “ *he* descending” is right. For, as Dr. Lowth has observed, the *case absolute* in English, is the *nominative*. See also note B. ix. 130.

Ver. 230, &c. 245, &c.] By these passages Milton seems to have understood no more of the Jewish institution than he saw in the small Presbyterian systems ; otherwise the true idea of the theocracy would have afforded some noble observations.

WARBURTON.

To civil justice ; part, religious rites
Of sacrifice ; informing them, by types
And shadows, of that destin'd Seed to bruise
The Serpent, by what means he shall achieve
Mankind's deliverance. But the voice of God 235
To mortal ear is dreadful : They beseech
That Moses might report to them his will,
And terror cease ; he grants what they be-
sought,
Instructed that to God is no access
Without Mediator, whose high office now 240
Moses in figure bears ; to introduce

Milton speaks of the civil and the ritual, that is, the judicial and the ceremonial, precepts delivered to the Jews ; but why did he omit the moral law contained in the ten commandments ? Possibly his reason might be, because this was supposed to be written originally in the heart of Man, and therefore Adam must have been perfectly acquainted with it : but however I think, this should have been particularly mentioned, as it was published at this time in the most solemn manner by God from mount Sinai ; and as it was thought worthy to be written with his own finger upon two tables of stone, when the rest were conveyed to the people by the writing and preaching of Moses, as a mediator between God and them. GREENWOOD.

Ver. 237. *That Moses might report*] Dr. Bentley would read
 “*may report.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 238. ————— *he grants what they besought,*] In the first edition it was thus, “ *he grants them their desire,*” but in the second it was altered to this, “ *he grants what they besought:*” I suppose that the construction might be plainer in what follows, *Instructed that to God &c.* NEWTON,

Ver. 241. *Moses in figure bears;*] Compare *Heb.* ix. 19, 24.
HUME.

One greater, of whose day he shall foretel,
 And all the Prophets in their age the times
 Of great Messiah shall sing. Thus, laws and rites
 Establish'd, such delight hath God in Men 245
 Obedient to his will, that he vouchsafes
 Among them to set up his tabernacle ;
 The Holy One with mortal Men to dwell :
 By his prescript a sanctuary is fram'd
 Of cedar, overlaid with gold ; therein 250
 An ark, and in the ark his testimony,
 The records of his covenant ; over these
 A mercy-feat of gold, between the wings
 Of two bright Cherubim ; before him burn
 Seven lamps as in a zodiack representing 255
 The heavenly fires ; over the tent a cloud
 Shall rest by day, a fiery gleam by night ;
 Save when they journey, and at length they come,

Ver. 242. ——— of whose day he shall foretel,
 And all the prophets &c.] See Acts iii. 22, 24.

NEWTON.

Ver. 255. *Seven lamps as in a zodiack representing
 The heavenly fires ;*]

That the seven lamps signified the seven planets, and that therefore the lamps stood slope-wise, as it were to express the obliquity of the zodiack, is the gloss of Josephus, from whom probably Milton borrowed it. Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. iii. cap. 6, and 7, and *De Bel. Jud.* lib. v. cap. 5. See likewise Mede's *Discourse* x, upon the seven Arch-Angels. Mr. Hume quotes likewise the Latin of Philo to the same purpose. See Cornelius à Lapide upon *Exod.* xxv. 31. NEWTON.

See also the learned Parkhurst, in his excellent *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 4^o. edit. 1792, p. 873.

Ver. 258. *Save when they journey,*] *Exod.* xl. 34, &c.
 " Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the

Conducted by his Angel, to the land
 Promis'd to Abraham and his seed :—The rest 260
 Were long to tell ; how many battles fought ;
 How many kings destroy'd ; and kingdoms won ;
 Or how the sun shall in mid Heaven stand still
 A day entire, and night's due course adjourn,
 Man's voice commanding, " Sun, in Gibeon
 stand, 265

" And thou moon in the vale of Aialon,
 " Till Israel overcome !" so call the third
 From Abraham, son of Isaac ; and from him
 His whole descent, who thus shall Canaan win.

glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward in all their journeys. But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not, till the day that it was taken up. For the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys."

Thus it was in all places wherever they came : and this is what Milton says in short, the cloud was over the tent by day, and the fire (call'd here *a fiery gleam*) by night, when they journeyed not. He takes no notice how it was when they did ; which this text (for the infinite beauty of which we have given it at length) explains : The cloud was then taken up ; How, then ? "*the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light, to go by day and night,*" chap. xiii. 21. Other armies pitch their ensigns when they encamp, and lift them up when they march. So does the Lord of Hosts leading forth his people. But, what ensigns ! how sublime ! Milton seems too concise here.

RICHARDSON.

Here Adam interpos'd. O sent from Heaven,
 Enlightener of my darkness, gracious things 271
 Thou hast reveal'd; those chiefly, which concern
 Just Abraham and his seed: now first I find
 Mine eyes true-opening, and my heart much eas'd;
 Erewhile perplex'd with thoughts, what would
 become 275

Of me and all mankind: But now I see
 His day, in whom all nations shall be blest;
 Favour unmerited by me, who fought
 Forbidden knowledge by forbidden means.
 This yet I apprehend not, why to those 280
 Among whom God will deign to dwell on earth
 So many and so various laws are given;
 So many laws argue so many sins

Ver. 270. *Here Adam interpos'd.*] These interpositions of Adam have a very good effect; for otherwise the continued narration of the Angel would appear too long and tedious.

NEWTON.

Ver. 274. *Mine eyes true-opening,*] Relating to that false promise, made to Adam by the lying serpent, "*Your eyes shall be opened,*" Gen. iii. 5. HUME.

Ver. 277. *His day,*] An allusion to *John* viii. 56. "Your father Abraham rejoiced to *see my day*; and he saw it, and was glad." NEWTON.

Ver. 283. *So many laws argue so many sins*] The scruple of our first Father, and the reply of the Angel, are grounded upon St. Paul's Epistles, and particularly those to the *Ephesians*, *Galatians*, and *Hebrews*, as the reader, who is at all conversant with these sacred writings, will easily perceive. Compare the following texts with the poet; *Gal.* iii. 19. *Rom.* vii. 7, 8. *Rom.* iii. 20. *Heb.* ix. 13, 14. *Heb.* x. 4, 5. *Rom.* iv. 22, 23,

Among them ; how can God with such reside ?

To whom thus Michael. Doubt not but that sin
Will reign among them, as of thee begot ; 286
And therefore was law given them, to evince
Their natural pravity, by stirring up
Sin against law to fight : that when they see
Law can discover sin, but not remove, 290
Save by those shadowy expiations weak,
The blood of bulls and goats, they may conclude
Some blood more precious must be paid for Man ;
Just for unjust ; that, in such righteousness
To them by faith imputed, they may find 295
Justification towards God, and peace
Of conscience ; which the law by ceremonies
Cannot appease ; nor Man the moral part
Perform ; and, not performing, cannot live.
So law appears imperfect ; and but given 300
With purpose to resign them, in full time,

24. *Rom.* v. 1. *Heb.* vii. 18, 19. *Heb.* x. 1. *Gal.* iii. 11, 12, 23.
Gal. iv. 7. *Rom.* viii. 15.

Milton has here, in a few verses, admirably summed up the sense and argument of these and more texts of Scripture. It is really wonderful how he could comprise so much divinity in so few words, and at the same time express it with so much strength and perspicuity. NEWTON.

The sentiment, *so many laws argue so many sins*, is also Mariana's : " *Legum multitudinem tempus et malitia invexit tantam, ut jam non minus legibus quam vitiis laboremus,*" *De Rege.* lib. i. cap. ii. BOWLE.

Peck has also observed the same remark in Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. viii. " *Corruptissimæ reipublicæ plurimæ leges.*" *Mem. of Milton*, p. 198.

Up to a better covenant ; disciplin'd
 From shadowy types to truth ; from flesh to spirit ;
 From imposition of strict laws to free
 Acceptance of large grace ; from servile fear 305
 To filial ; works of law to works of faith.
 And therefore shall not Moses, though of God
 Highly belov'd, being but the minister
 Of law, his people into Canaan lead ;
 But Joshua, whom the Gentiles Jesus call, 310
 His name and office bearing, who shall quell
 The adversary-Serpent, and bring back
 Through the world's wilderness long-wander'd
 Man

Safe to eternal Paradise of rest. 314
 Mean while they, in their earthly Canaan plac'd,
 Long time shall dwell and prosper, but when sins
 National interrupt their publick peace,
 Provoking God to raise them enemies ;
 From whom as oft he saves them penitent

Ver. 307. *And therefore shall not Moses, &c.*] Moses died in mount Nebo, in the land of Moab, from whence he had the prospect of the Promised Land, but not the honour of leading the Israelites to possess it ; which was reserved for Joshua, *Deut.* xxxiv. *Josh.* i. HUME.

Ver. 311. *His name and office bearing,*] Joshua was in many things a type of Jesus ; and the names are the same, *Joshua* according to the Hebrew, and *Jesus* in Greek. The Seventy always render *Joshua* by *Jesus* ; and there are two passages in the New Testament, where *Jesus* is used for *Joshua*, once by St. Stephen, *Acts* vii. 45, and again by St. Paul, *Heb.* iv. 8. And the name Joshua or Jesus, signifies a Saviour. NEWTON.

By Judges first, then under Kings; of whom 320
 The second, both for piety renown'd
 And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive
 Irrevocable, that his regal throne
 For ever shall endure; the like shall sing
 All Prophecy, that of the royal stock 325
 Of David (so I name this king) shall rise
 A Son, the Woman's seed to thee foretold,
 Foretold to Abraham, as in whom shall trust
 All nations; and to kings foretold, of kings
 The last; for of his reign shall be no end. 330
 But first, a long succession must ensue;
 And his next son, for wealth and wisdom fam'd,
 The clouded ark of God, till then in tents
 Wandering, shall in a glorious temple enshrine.
 Such follow him, as shall be register'd 335
 Part good, part bad; of bad the longer scroll;
 Whose foul idolatries, and other faults
 Heap'd to the popular sum, will so incense
 God, as to leave them, and expose their land,
 Their city, his temple, and his holy ark, 340
 With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey
 To that proud city, whose high walls thou saw'st

Ver. 322. ————— *a promise shall receive &c.*] The poet, as Mr. Hume and Dr. Newton have observed, has digested into this and the eight following lines, the substance of these texts of Scripture, II *Sam.* vii. 16. *Psalms* lxxxix. 34, 35, 36. *Gen.* iii. 15. *Gen.* xxii. 18. *Isaiah* xi. 10. *Luke* i. 32, 33.

Ver. 342. ————— *whose high walls thou saw'st &c.*] I know not whether the poet has not here forgotten him-

Left in confusion ; Babylon thence call'd.
 There in captivity he lets them dwell
 The space of seventy years ; then brings them
 back, 345

Remembering mercy, and his covenant sworn
 To David, stablish'd as the days of Heaven.
 Return'd from Babylon by leave of kings
 Their lords, whom God dispos'd, the house of
 God

They first re-edify ; and for a while 350
 In mean estate live moderate ; till, grown
 In wealth and multitude, factious they grow :

self a little ; for it is not strictly true, that Adam *saw* the walls left in confusion ; it was no part of Adam's vision ; it is only a part of the Angel's narration in this book. I was thinking then, that perhaps Adam might see places, though he could not see persons ; as he sees the Nile, ver. 158, and mount Hermon and the Mediterranean, ver. 142, though he could not see Abraham, ver. 128 : but the Mediterranean, and Hermon, and the Nile, seas, and mountains, and rivers, are such places as existed at that very time, whereas the walls of Babel or Babylon were not built till several years afterwards, and Adam seems now to have lost his prospect of things future ; as the Angel says, *I perceive thy mortal sight to fail*, ver. 9. We must not therefore understand the expression literally ; for verbs of *seeing* are often extended beyond the bare act, and are applied to other senses and other faculties of the mind. NEWTON.

Ver. 346. ————— *his covenant sworn*
To David, stablish'd as the days of Heaven.] See
Jeremiah, xxxiii. 20, and *Psalms* lxxxix. 29.

Ver. 349. ————— *The house of God*
They first re-edify ;] As it is related in the first
 book of *Esdra*s.



But first among the priests dissention springs,
 Men who attend the altar, and should most
 Endeavour peace: their strife pollution brings 355
 Upon the temple itself: at last they seize
 The scepter, and regard not David's sons;
 Then lose it to a stranger, that the true
 Anointed King Messiah might be born
 Barr'd of his right; yet at his birth a star, 360
 Unseen before in Heaven, proclaims him come;
 And guides the eastern sages, who inquire
 His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold:
 His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
 To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night;
 They gladly thither haste, and by a quire 366
 Of squadron'd Angels hear his carol sung.
 A virgin is his mother, but his fire
 The power of the Most High: He shall ascend

Ver. 355. ———— *their strife pollution brings*

Upon the temple itself: &c.] For it was chiefly through the contests between Jason and Menelaus, high-priests of the Jews, that the temple was polluted by Antiochus Epiphanes, See II *Maccab.* v, and Prideaux.

At last they seize the scepter, Aristobulus eldest son of Hyrcanus, high-priest of the Jews, was the first who assumed the title of king after the Babylonish captivity; before Christ 107. *And regard not David's sons*, none of that family having had the government since Zerubbabel. *Then lose it to a stranger*, to Herod, who was an Idumean, in whose reign Christ was born. See Josephus, and Prideaux. NEWTON.

Ver. 364. ———— *a solemn Angel*] Sent in solemnity, as an ambassador extraordinary. This single word *solemn* expresses the importance of the message. RICHARDSON.

The throne hereditary, and bound his reign 370
 With Earth's wide bounds, his glory with the
 Heavens.

He ceas'd, discerning Adam with such joy
 Surcharg'd, as had like grief been dew'd in tears,
 Without the vent of words; which these he
 breath'd.

O prophet of glad tidings, finisher 375
 Of utmost hope! now clear I understand
 What oft my steadiest thoughts have search'd in
 vain;

Why our great Expectation should be call'd
 The seed of Woman: Virgin Mother, hail, 379
 High in the love of Heaven; yet from my loins
 Thou shalt proceed, and from thy womb the Son
 Of God Most High; so God with Man unites.
 Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruise
 Expect with mortal pain: Say where and when

Ver. 370. ————— and bound his reign

*With Earth's wide bounds, his glory with the
 Heavens.*] Mr. Hume and Dr. Newton have

here cited from Virgil, *Æn.* i. 287,

“Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris.”

But, as Mr. Upton observes, the prophets ought rather to be
 cited. *Psal.* ii. 8. *Isaiah*, ix. 7. *Zechariah*, ix. 9.

Yet, in the turn of the words, there is a similarity to a
 passage in the old *Tragedie of Dido*, 1594.

“No bounds but heauen shall bound his emperie.”

Ver. 379. ————— *Virgin Mother, hail,*

High in the love of Heaven;] “Hail, thou that

art highly favoured!” *Luke* i. 28. GILLIES.

Their fight, what stroke shall bruise the victor's
heel. 385

To whom thus Michael. Dream not of their
fight,

As of a duel, or the local wounds
Of head or heel: Not therefore joins the Son
Manhood to Godhead, with more strength to
foil

Thy enemy; nor so is overcome 390
Satan, whose fall from Heaven, a deadlier bruise,
Disabled, not to give thee thy death's wound:
Which he, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure,
Not by destroying Satan, but his works
In thee, and in thy seed: Nor can this be, 395
But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,
Obedience to the law of God, impos'd
On penalty of death, and suffering death;
The penalty to thy transgression due, 399
And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:
So only can high Justice rest appaid.
The law of God exact he shall fulfil

Ver. 394. ———— *but his works*] See I *John*, iii. 8.
NEWTON.

Ver. 400. *And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:*] Punishment is due to mens actual transgressions, though the original depravity, the transgression of Adam, was the root of them.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 401. ———— *rest appaid.*] *Rest satisfied:* The language of Chaucer and Spenser. Thus *ill appaid* means *dissatisfied*. See Glossary, at the end of Urry's Chaucer,

Both by obedience and by love, though love
 Alone fulfil the law ; thy punishment
 He shall endure, by coming in the flesh 405
 To a reproachful life, and cursed death ;
 Proclaiming life to all who shall believe
 In his redemption ; and that his obedience,
 Imputed, becomes theirs by faith ; his merits
 To save them, not their own, though legal,
 works. 410

Ver. 403. ————— *though love*
Alone fulfil the law ;] Rom. xiii. 10. " Love is
 the fulfilling of the law." HUME.

Ver. 409. ————— *his merits*
To save them, &c.] Dr. Bentley says, that the
 construction demands "*Do save them,*" and so he supposes that
 Milton gave it. But I cannot see with what propriety, when
 Milton is speaking of things to come, and using the future tense
 before and after this sentence, he can here jump at once into the
 present tense *do*, and represent Christ's merits as then actually
saving them. And yet, though I dislike the doctor's alteration,
 I confess that there is a difficulty in the common reading. The
 only sense that I can make of it, is this: " Which *redemption*
 and *obedience* are *his merits* to save them, and not their own
 works, though legal ones and strictly conformable to the law."

PEARCE.

I rather understand the passage thus, apprehending that the
 verb *believe* governs the rest of the sentence: " *Proclaiming life*
to all who shall believe in his redemption ; and shall believe that
his obedience, imputed, becomes theirs by faith ; and shall believe
his merits to save them, not their own, though legal, works."

NEWTON.

An ingenious writer, in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 48.
 p. 466, proposes to read *merits* with an elision, that is, " His
merit's to save them," or, " His *merit is* to save them ;" *is* to
 for *must* or *shall* ; not an unusual way of speaking, as, " His

For this he shall live hated, be blasphem'd,
Seis'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condemn'd

A shameful and accurs'd, nail'd to the cross
By his own nation ; slain for bringing life :
But to the cross he nails thy enemies, 415
The law that is against thee, and the sins
Of all mankind, with him there crucified,

order *is to* warrant you ; his servant *is to* attend us." If it should be alleged, he continues, that *merit* is seldom, if ever, used in the singular number, when it relates to Christ ; a poet and a layman may vary from a practice, however generally observed by churchmen : and in fact he does so, B. iii. 290.

—————" Thy *merit*,
" Imputed, shall absolve them."

And again, where he introduces Christ speaking of himself, B. xi. 35.

—————" My *merit* those
" Shall perfect."

The critick moreover quotes, from Shakspeare's *Hen.* viii, a similar elision at the end of a verse ;

—————" I speak sincerely, and high *note's*
" Ta'en of your many virtues."

Thus defending his change, if it may be called a change, he observes how easy the sentence appears, which was before so perplexed : "*Proclaiming life to all who shall believe that his obedience becomes theirs—that his MERIT is to save them, not their own works.*"

Ver. 415. *But to the cross he nails thy enemies,*] The enemies of Adam were the law that was against him, and the sins of all mankind as springing originally from him, and therefore in some sense chargeable upon him. The author, in this passage, alludes to *Col.* ii. 14. NEWTON.

Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
 In this his satisfaction ; so he dies,
 But soon revives ; Death over him no power 420
 Shall long usurp ; ere the third dawning light
 Return, the stars of morn shall see him rise
 Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,
 Thy ransom paid, which Man from death re-
 decms,
 His death for Man, as many as offer'd life 425
 Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
 By faith not void of works : This God-like act

Ver. 420. ———— *Death over him no power
 Shall long usurp ;*] *Rom. vi. 9. "Death hath
 no more dominion over him."* GILLIES.

By the preceding expression, *he dies, but soon revives*, it seems
 as if the following passage also was now in Milton's remem-
 brance : "I am he that liveth and was dead ; and, behold, I
 am alive for evermore," *Rev. i. 18.*

Ver. 421. ———— *ere the third dawning light*] *St. Matt.
 xxviii. 1. "As it began to dawn towards the first day of the
 week."* GILLIES.

Ver. 424. *Thy ransom paid,*] The two first editions have
Thy, the latter ones *The* : And Milton's word may be defended,
 if we suppose that Adam is here spoken of, not as a single person,
 but as one in whose loins all mankind was contained, or as one
 who was representative of the whole human species.

And so the poet speaks again, v. 247.

———"this God-like act
 "Annuls *thy* doom." PEARCE.

Compare I *Tim. ii. 6.* "Who gave himself a ransom for all."
 Dr. Pearce's defence of Milton's word is supported by St. Paul's
 expression "*for all*;" and it is evident the poet had the passage
 in view.

And his salvation ; them who shall believe
 Baptizing in the profluent stream, the sign
 Of washing them from guilt of sin to life
 Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if so befall,
 For death, like that which the Redeemer died. 445
 All nations they shall teach ; for, from that day,
 Not only to the sons of Abraham's loins
 Salvation shall be preach'd, but to the sons
 Of Abraham's faith wherever through the
 world ;
 So in his seed all nations shall be blest. 450
 Then to the Heaven of Heavens he shall ascend
 With victory, triumphing through the air
 Over his foes and thine ; there shall surprise
 The Serpent, prince of air, and drag in chains
 Through all his realm, and there confounded
 leave ; 455
 Then enter into glory, and resume

Ver. 445. ————— *which the Redeemer died.*] Dr. Bentley says (and it is not improbable) that the author gave it,
 ————— “ *which their Redeemer died.*” NEWTON.

I can see no reason for this alteration : Surely Milton's own reading is very emphatical, “ *The Redeemer,*” ὁ ῥυόμενος, *Isaiah* lix. 20, and *Rom.* xi. 26.

Ver. 447. *Not only to the sons of Abraham's loins
 Salvation shall be preach'd, but &c.*] Compare *Gal.* iii. 7, and 16 ; and *Rom.* iv. 16.

Ver. 456. *Then enter into glory,*] *Luke* xxiv. 26. “ Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory ?” GILLIES.

His feat at God's right hand, exalted high
Above all names in Heaven ; and thence shall
come,

When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,
With glory and power to judge both quick and
dead ;

460

To judge the unfaithful dead, but to reward
His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
Whether in Heaven or Earth ; for then the Earth
Shall all be Paradise, far happier place

Than this of Eden, and far happier days.

465

So spake the Arch-Angel Michaël ; then paus'd,
As at the world's great period ; and our fire,
Replete with joy and wonder, thus replied.

O Goodness infinite, Goodness immense !

That all this good of evil shall produce,

470

Ver. 457. ————— *exalted high*

Above all names in Heaven ;] *Eph. i. 20, 21.*

" God hath set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places,
far above every name that is named, not only in this world, but
also in that which is to come." HUME.

Ver. 459. *When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,*] In
the later editions we have "*the world's*:" But I prefer "*this*,"
which is found in the two first ; because this reading admits the
ictus on the second syllable of the verse (where it ought to be),
whereas the other reading throws it upon the third. PEARCE.

Ver. 460. *With glory and power*] *St. Luke, xxi. 27.* " With
power and great glory." GILLIES.

Ver. 461. *To judge the unfaithful dead, but to reward*
His faithful, &c.] See *John v. 28, 29,* and *Rev.*
xi. 18.

And evil turn to good ; more wonderful
 Than that which by creation first brought forth
 Light out of darknes ! Full of doubt I stand,
 Whether I should repent me now of sin
 By me done, and occasion'd ; or rejoice 475
 Much more, that much more good thereof shall
 spring ;

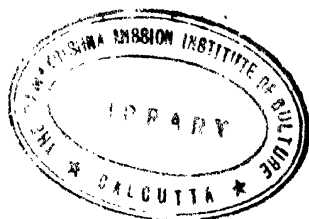
To God more glory, more good-will to Men
 From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
 But say, if our Deliverer up to Heaven
 Must re-ascend, what will betide the few 480
 His faithful, left among the unfaithful herd,
 The enemies of truth ? Who then shall guide
 His people, who defend ? Will they not deal
 Worse with his followers than with him they
 dealt ?

Be sure they will, said the Angel ; but from
 Heaven 485
 He to his own a Comforter will send,

Ver. 475. ————— or rejoice

*Much more, that much more good thereof shall
 spring ;]* He seems to have remembered that
 rant of one of the Fathers, “ O felix culpa, quæ talem ac tan-
 tum meruit habere redemptorem ! O happy fault, which deserved
 to have such and so great a redeemer ! ” As in what follows, To
 God more glory, &c. he alludes to the heavenly hymn, *Glory to
 God in the highest, &c.* NEWTON.

It is more probable, that Milton here alluded to II Cor. iv. 15.
 “ For all things are for your sakes, that the abundant grace
 might, through the thanksgiving of many, redound to the glory
 of God.” See also Rom. v. 20.



The promise of the Father, who shall dwell
His Spirit within them; and the law of faith,
Working through love, upon their hearts shall
write,

To guide them in all truth; and also arm 490
With spiritual armour, able to resist
Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts;
What man can do against them, not afraid,
Though to the death; against such cruelties
With inward consolations recompens'd, 495
And oft supported so as shall amaze
Their proudest persecutors: For the Spirit,
Pour'd first on his Apostles, whom he sends
To evangelize the nations, then on all 499

Ver. 487. *The promise of the Father,*] See *Luke* xxiv. 49.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *who shall dwell*

His Spirit within them;] *Shall cause to dwell.* So, in
Sophocles, as cited by Mr. Stillingfleet, *Oedip. Colon.* v. 93.

Ἐνταῦθα νέμψιν τὸν παλαίπρωον βίον,

Κί, δὲ μὲν ΟΙΚΗΣΟΝΤΑ τοῖς διδγμένοις, κ. τ. λ.,

Ver. 490. *To guide them in all truth; and also arm*
With spiritual armour, &c.] See *John* xvi. 13,
and *Eph.* vi. 11, 13, 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 493. *What man can do against them, not afraid,*
Though to the death;] The construction, I suppose, is “Not afraid of what man can do against them though to the death,” *though it be persecution to death itself*: and it is an allusion to *Psalms* lvi. 11. “*I will not be afraid what man can do unto me.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 498. *Pour'd first on his Apostles, &c.*] See *Acts* ii. 4,
and *Mark* xvi. 17, 18. HUME.

Baptiz'd, shall them with wonderous gifts endue
 To speak all tongues, and do all miracles,
 As did their Lord before them. Thus they win
 Great numbers of each nation to receive
 With joy the tidings brought from Heaven: At
 length

Their ministry perform'd, and race well run, 505
 Their doctrine and their story written left,
 They die; but in their room, as they forewarn,
 Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous
 wolves,

Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven
 To their own vile advantages shall turn 510
 Of lucre and ambition; and the truth
 With superstitions and traditions taint,
 Left only in those written records pure,

Ver. 507. ——— but in their room, as they forewarn,

Wolves shall succeed &c.] So St. Paul had forewarned the elders of the church at Miletus, to which Milton here alludes, *Acts* xx. 29; as also in his *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Christian church*, *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 563, edit. 1738. "Not long after, as the Apostle foretold, *hirelings like wolves* came in by herds, &c."

NEWTON.

See also his *Sonnet* to Cromwell, v. 13.

"Help us to save free conscience from the paw

"Of *hireling wolves*, whose gospel is their maw."

Ver. 511. *Of lucre and ambition;*] With the same allusion, as in his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 164, edit. 1698. "They have fed his sheep, contrary to *that which St. Peter* writes, not of a ready mind, but for filthy *lucre*; not as examples to the flock, but as being *lords over God's heritage*."

Though not but by the Spirit understood.
 Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
 Places, and titles, and with these to join 516
 Secular power; though feigning still to act
 By spiritual, to themselves appropriating
 The Spirit of God, promis'd alike and given
 To all believers; and, from that pretence, 520
 Spiritual laws by carnal power shall force
 On every conscience; laws which none shall find

Ver. 514. *Though not but by the Spirit understood.*] I don't think Milton, in all his writings, ever gave a stronger proof of his enthusiastical spirit than in this line. WARBURTON.

I suppose he alluded to I Cor. ii. 14. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned:" understanding it as some enthusiastick sectarists have understood it. NEWTON.

Ver. 516. ————— *and with these to join*

Secular power; &c.] On this subject he had been particularly copious in his tract of *Reformation in England*, *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 264, edit. 1698. "If the life of Christ be hid to this world, much more is his scepter unoperative, but in spiritual things. And thus lived for two or three ages the successors of the Apostles. But when through Constantine's lavish superstition they forsook their first love, and *set themselves up too in God's stead*; Mammon and their belly, then taking advantage of the spiritual power which they had on mens consciences, they began to cast a longing eye to get the body also, and bodily things, into their command; upon which their carnal desires, the Spirit daily quenching and dying in them, knew no way to keep themselves up from falling to nothing, but by bolstering and supporting their inward rottenness, *by a carnal and outward strength.*"

Ver. 522. ————— *laws which none shall find &c.*] Laws, as Hume and doctor Newton observe, neither agreeable

Left them inroll'd, or what the Spirit within
 Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then
 But force the Spirit of Grace itself, and bind 525
 His confort Liberty? what, but unbuild
 His living temples, built by faith to stand,
 Their own faith, not another's? for, on earth,
 Who against faith and conscience can be heard
 Infallible? yet many will presume: 530
 Whence heavy persecution shall arise
 On all, who in the worship persevere
 Of spirit and truth; the rest, far greater part,
 Will deem in outward rites and specious forms

to revealed or natural religion; neither to be found in Holy Scripture, or written on their hearts by the Spirit of God; laws contrary to his promise, who has said, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts," Jer. xxxi. 33.

Ver. 526. *His confort Liberty?*] "For where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," II Cor. iii. 17. NEWTON.

Ver. 527. *His living temples,*] Christians are called the "*temples of God*," I Cor. iii. 16, 17, and vi. 19. NEWTON.

See also Milton's *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 231, ed. 1698. "As if the touch of a lay Christian, who is nevertheless God's *living temple*, could profane dead Judaisms."

Ver. 532. *On all, who in the worship persevere*
Of spirit and truth;] He alludes to *John* iv. 23.
 NEWTON.

Ver. 534. *Will deem*] This is the genuine reading of the first edition; in the second edition it was printed by mistake "*Well deem*;" but, absurd as this reading is, it has been followed in all the editions which I have seen, till Mr. Fenton's and Dr. Bentley's. NEWTON.

Religion satisfied ; Truth shall retire 535
 Bestuck with slanderous darts, and works of faith
 Rarely be found : So shall the world go on,
 To good malignant, to bad men benign ;
 Under her own weight groaning ; till the day
 Appear of respiration to the just, 540
 And vengeance to the wicked, at return
 Of him so lately promis'd to thy aid,
 The Woman's Seed ; obscurely then foretold,
 Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord ;
 Last, in the clouds, from Heaven to be reveal'd 545
 In glory of the Father, to dissolve
 Satan with his perverted world ; then raise.

I must again rescue Tickell from doctor Newton's censure ; for in his edition, which was published five years before Fenton's, the reading is "*Will deem.*"

Ver. 539. *Under her own weight groaning ;*] "The whole creation groaneth," *Rom. viii. 22.* GILLIES.

Ver. 540. ——— *the day of respiration*] This is what the Scripture calls "the times of refreshing," *Acts iii. 19.*
 NEWTON.

Ver. 545. *Last, in the clouds, from Heaven to be reveal'd
 In glory of the Father,*] "Coming in the clouds of Heaven," *Matt. xxvi. 64.* "The Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father," *Matt. xvi. 27.* GILLIES.

Ver. 546. ——— *to dissolve
 Satan with his perverted world ;*] An expression of the same import as when the light is said to *dissolve* the darkness, Virgil, *Æn. viii. 591.*

"Extulit os sacrum cœlo, tenebrâsque resolvit."

Milton probably borrowed the phrase from Scripture, *II Pet. iii. 11, 12.* "Seeing then that all these things shall be *dissolved*,

From the conflagrant mafs, purg'd and refin'd,
 New Heavens, new Earth, ages of endless date,
 Founded in righteoufnefs, and peace, and love;
 To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal blifs. 551

He ended; and thus Adam laft replied.
 How foon hath thy prediction, Seer bleft,

&c. The Heavens, being on fire, fhall be *diffoived*." And he had mentioned before "this world's *diffoiution*," ver. 459.

NEWTON.

In the fame figurative fenfe, as Mr. Richardfon obferves, the word is ufed in Apollonius Rhodius, where morning *diffoives* the night throughout the ether, *Argon.* iv. 1170,

Ἡὼς δ' ἀμβροσίησιν ἀνερχομένη φαίεσσι

ΛΥΓΕ κελαινὴν νύκτα δὲ ἥερος.

Δεῖν alfo plainly fignifies *to deftroy*, in *John* ii. 19. "*Deftroy* this temple, and in three days I will raife it up."

Ver. 549. *New Heavens, new Earth,*] The very words of St. Peter, II *Pet.* iii. 13. "Nevertheless, we according to his promife, look for *new Heavens, and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteoufnefs.*"

This notion of the Heavens and Earth being renewed after the conflagration, and made the habitation of Angels and juft Men made perfect, was very pleafing to Milton; as it was to Dr. Burnet, and muft be to every one of a fine and exalted imagination: And Milton has enlarged upon it in feveral parts of his works, and particularly in this poem, B. iii. 333, &c. B. x. 638, B. xi. 65, 900, B. xii. 462. NEWTON.

Compare, with this poetick paflage, Milton's animated defcription in profe of Chrift's "universal and mild *Monarchy through Heaven and Earth*. Where they undoubtedly, that by their labours, counfels, and prayers, have been earneft for the common good of religion and their country, fhall receive, above the inferiour Orders of the Bleffed, the regal addition of Principalities, Legions, and Thrones, into their glorious titles; and, in fupereminence of beatifick Vifion, *progreffing the datelefs and*

Measur'd this transient world, the race of time,
 Till time stand fix'd? Beyond is all abyfs, 555
 Eternity, whose end no eye can reach.
 Greatly instructed I shall hence depart;
 Greatly in peace of thought; and have my fill
 Of knowledge, what this vessel can contain;
 Beyond which was my folly to aspire. 560
 Henceforth I learn, that to obey is best,
 And love with fear the only God; to walk
 As in his presence; ever to observe
 His providence; and on him sole depend,
 Merciful over all his works, with good 565
 Still overcoming evil, and by small
 Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd
 weak
 Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise

*and irrevoluble circle of Eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands
 with joy and bliss, in over-measure for ever."* See the end of
his Reformation in England.

Ver. 565. ————— *with good*

Still overcoming evil;] "Overcome evil with
 good," *Rom. xii. 21.* GILLIES.

Ver, 568. *Subverting worldly strong, &c.*] "God hath
 chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and
 God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the
 things which are mighty, *I Cor. i. 27.*

And so in the rest there is the sense of Scripture, if not the
 very words. *As to obey is best,* "Behold to obey is better than
 sacrifice," *I Sam. xv. 22.* And *on him sole depend,* "Casting
 all your care upon him, for he careth for you," *I Pet. v. 7.*
And merciful over all his works, "His mercies are over all his
 works," *Psalms cxlv. 9.* NEWTON.

By simply meek: that suffering for truth's sake
 Is fortitude to highest victory, 570
 And, to the faithful, death the gate of life;
 Taught this by his example, whom I now
 Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.

To whom thus also the Angel last replied. 574
 This having learn'd, thou hast attain'd the sum
 Of wisdom; hope no higher, though all the stars
 Thou knew'st by name, and all the ethereal
 powers,

All secrets of the deep, all Nature's works,
 Or works of God in Heaven, air, earth, or sea,
 And all the riches of this world enjoy'dst, 580
 And all the rule, one empire; only add
 Deeds to thy knowledge answerable; add faith,
 Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,
 By name to come call'd charity, the soul
 Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loth 585
 To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess

Ver. 576. ———— *though all the stars*
[Thou knew'st by name, &c.] The turn of the
 sentence resembles, as Mr. Stillingfleet observes, what St. Paul
 says, I Cor. xiii. 2. "And *though I have the gift of prophecy,*
and understand all mysteries and all knowledge,—and have not
charity, I am nothing."

Ver. 581. ———— *only add*
[Deeds to thy knowledge &c.] II Pet. i. 5, 6, 7.
 HUME.

Ver. 584. ———— *charity, the soul*
[Of all the rest:] So charity is called, in our
 excellent Liturgy, "the very bond of peace, and of all virtues."

A Paradise within thee, happier far.—
 Let us descend now therefore from this top
 Of speculation ; for the hour precise 589
 Exacts our parting hence ; and see ! the guards,
 By me encamp'd on yonder hill, expect
 Their motion ; at whose front a flaming sword,
 In signal of remove, waves fiercely round :
 We may no longer stay : go, waken Eve ;
 Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd 595
 Portending good, and all her spirits compos'd
 To meek submission : thou, at season fit,
 Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard ;
 Chiefly, what may concern her faith to know,
 The great deliverance by her seed to come 600
 (For by the Woman's seed) on all mankind :
 That ye may live, which will be many days,
 Both in one faith unanimous, though sad,
 With cause, for evils past ; yet much more cheer'd

Ver. 587. *A Paradise within thee,*] This, Sir John Harrington styles “ the comfortable peace of *conscience*, the only true *Paradise* of this world.” Notes on his translation of Orlando Furioso, p. 288. BOWLE.

Ver. 588. ————— *from this top*

Of speculation ;] From this hill of prophecy and prediction. *Speculation*, a watching on a tower or high place ; thence a discovery, and therefore applied to the prophets in the sacred page, who are called *seers* and *watchmen*, speculatores of *specula* Latin, a *watch-tower*. See Ezek. iii. 17, and xxxiii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. HUME.

So, in *Par. Reg. B. iv.* 236.

————— “ this *specular* mount.” RICHARDSON.

With meditation on the happy end. 605

He ended, and they both descend the hill ;
Descended, Adam to the bower, where Eve
Lay sleeping, ran before ; but found her wak'd ;
And thus with words not sad she him receiv'd.

Whence thou return'ft, and whither went'ft, I
know ; 610

For God is also in sleep ; and dreams advise,
Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
Prefaging, since with sorrow and heart's distress
Wearied I fell asleep : But now lead on ;

In me is no delay ; with thee to go, 615

Is to stay here ; without thee here to stay,

Is to go hence unwilling ; thou to me

Art all things under Heaven, all places thou,

Who for my wilful crime art banish'd hence.

This further consolation yet secure 620

I carry hence ; though all by me is lost,

Ver. 608. ————— *but found her wak'd ;*] There is some inconsistency between this and what is said in the argument to this book, which was written afterwards. There it is said that Adam *wakens Eve*, but here that he *found her wak'd*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 611. *For God is also in sleep ;*] Numb. xii. 6. " If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him *in a vision*, and I will speak unto him *in a dream*." And thus Homer, *Il.* i. 63. *Καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄραρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν.* And the application is very elegant in this place, as Adam's was a *vision*, and Eve's a *dream* ; and God was in the one, as well as in the other. NEWTON.

Ver. 615. *In me is no delay ;*] Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 52. " *In me mora non erit ulla.*" NEWTON.

Such favour I unworthy am vouchsaf'd,
By me the Promis'd Seed shall all restore.

So spake our mother Eve; and Adam heard
Well pleas'd, but answer'd not: For now, too
nigh 625

The Arch-Angel stood; and, from the other hill
To their fix'd station, all in bright array
The Cherubim descended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as evening-mist
Ris'n from a river o'er the marsh glides, 630

Ver. 625. ————— for now, too nigh

The Arch-Angel stood;] Milton observes the τὸ
μεῖνον, the *decorum*, to the last degree; making our first parents
such perfect patterns of modesty, as to forbear their endearments,
though but in words, at the Angel's approach. HUME.

Ver. 629. *Gliding meteorous*,] Pope employs the same language
in describing the motion of Iris, *Iliad* xxiv. 99.

————— “ Iris from the skies,
“ Swift as a whirlwind, on the message flies,
“ *Meteorous* the face of Ocean sweeps,
“ Refulgent *gliding* o'er the fable deeps.”

Of the motion, ascribed to the deities, see the notes on B. vi.
71, and B. viii. 302. See also Mathewe Groue's *Epigrams and
Sonets*, 12mo. Lond. 1587, bl. l.

“ Grant this ye gods that *glide* on starrie skie,
“ And guide that Chaos ball most equally.”

Ver. 630. ————— *marsh*] An old word for
marsh; used in I *Maccab*, ix. 42. “ The *marsh* of Jordan,”
and again in v. 45, as Dr. Newton has observed.

It appears to have been often employed by Harington and
Fairfax in their translations of Ariosto and Tasso, and by Spenser,
Drayton, and Browne,

And gathers ground fast at the labourer's heel
 Homeward returning. High in front advanc'd,
 The brandish'd sword of God before them blaz'd,
 Fierce as a comet; which with torrid heat,
 And vapour as the Libyan air adust, 635
 Began to parch that temperate clime; whereat
 In either hand the hastening Angel caught
 Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate
 Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
 To the subjeçted plain; then disappear'd. 640
 They, looking back, all the eastern side beheld
 Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,

Ver. 631. *And gathers ground fast at the labourer's heel*] So Pope, *Iliad* xxi. 287.

“ The waves flow after, wherefoe'er he wheels,

“ And gather fast, and murmur, at his heels.”

Ver. 634. *Fierce as a comet; which with torrid heat,*

And vapour as the Libyan air adust,

Began to parch that temperate clime;] Tasso, as

Mr. Bowle also notes, *Gier. Lib.* c. vii. st. 52.

“ Qual con le chiome sanguinose horrende

“ Splender cometa fuol per l'aria adusta.”

Ver. 635. *And vapour*] Horace, *Epod.* iii. 15.

“ Nec tantus unquam fiderum infedit vapor

“ Siticulosæ Apuliæ.” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 640. *To the subjeçted plain;*] The plain below. This meaning of *subjeçted* may be illustrated by Shakspeare, *Troil. and Cressid.* A. i. S. ii.

“ the eastern tower,

“ Whose height commands as *subjeçt* all the vale.”

They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and
flow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

Ver. 648. *They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and flow,*] The melancholy turn of this line is very observable; and bears some similarity to a very plaintive passage in Petrarch, *Sen. xxxviii, parte seconda*:

“ Ond’ io fon fatto un animal silvestro

“ Che co’ pie vaghi, solitari, e lassi,

“ Porto ’l cor grave, e gli occhi umidi e bassi

“ Al mondo ch’ è per me un deserto alpestro.”

Pope and Gray have availed themselves of Milton’s expression, “ *with wandering steps and flow.*” See *Odyss. x. 286, Dunciad, iv. 465*, and *The Installation-Ode, stanza iv.*

Ibid. They hand in hand, with wandering steps and flow, Through Eden took their solitary way.] Addison would eject these two last lines of the book, and close it with the verse before. He seems to have been induced to this by a mistake of the printer, *They, hand in hand*; which reading does indeed make the last distich seem loose, unconnected, and absconded from the rest. But the author gave it “ *Then hand in hand* :” which continues the prior sentence,

“ Some natural tears they dropt, but wip’d them soon;

“ *Then hand in hand.*”

Nor can these two verses possibly be spared from the work; for without them Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and suburbane of Paradise, in the very view of the *dreadful faces*.

“ Apparent diræ facies, inimicæque Trojæ

“ Numina magna Deûm.”

They must therefore be dismissed out of Eden, to live thenceforward in some other part of the world. And yet this distich, as Addison well judges, *falls very much below the foregoing passage*. It contradicts the poet’s own scheme; nor is the diction unexceptionable. He tells us before, That Adam, upon hearing Michael’s predictions, was even *furcharged with joy*, ver. 372 ;

was *replete with joy and wonder*, ver. 468; was in doubt, whether he should *repent of or rejoice in his fall*, ver. 475; was in *great peace of thought*, ver. 558; and Eve herself *not sad, but full of consolation*, ver. 620. Why then does this distich dismiss our first parents in anguish, and the reader in melancholy? And how can the expression be justified, *with wandering steps and slow*? Why *wandering*? Erratick steps? Very improper: when, in the line before, they were *guided by providence*. And why *slow*? when even Eve professed her readiness and alacrity for the journey, ver. 614;

————— “but now lead on;

“In me is no delay.”

And why *their solitary way*? All words to represent a forrowful parting? when even their former walks in Paradise were as solitary, as their way now; there being no body besides them two both here and there. Shall I therefore, after so many prior presumptions, presume at last to offer a distich, as close as may be to the author's words, and entirely agreeable to his scheme?

“Then hand in hand with social steps their way

“Through Eden took, *with heav'nly comfort cheer'd*.”

BENTLEY.

As the poem closes with these two verses, so Dr. Bentley finishes his labour with remarks upon them. He observes that Addison declared for ejecting them both out of the poem; and supposes him to have been induced to this by a mistake of the printer. “*They hand in hand*,” which reading (the Doctor thinks) makes the last distich seem loose, unconnected, and absconded from the rest. But Addison was too good a judge of Milton's way of writing, to eject them upon that account only. He gave us another reason for his readiness to part with them, and said that they renew in the mind of the reader that anguish, which was pretty well laid by the consideration of the two foregoing verses. But it has been said more justly by another gentleman (who seems well qualified to give a judgement in the case) that, *considering the moral and chief design of this poem, Terror is the last passion to be left upon the mind of the reader*. Essay on Pope's Odyssey, Part ii. p. 89. However this be, the Doctor's reason for keeping these two verses is extraordinary: he says

that, unless they are kept, Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and suburbane of Paradise, in the very view of the *dreadful faces*: and he adds that they must therefore be dismissed *out of Eden*, to live thenceforward in some other part of the world. And yet both in the common reading, and in the Doctor's too, they are left in *Eden*, only taking their way *through* it. But this by the by. Let us see how the Doctor would mend the matter; and then I will give my objections to his reading, and afterwards answer his objections to Milton's. He proposes to read thus,

"Then hand in hand with *social* steps their way

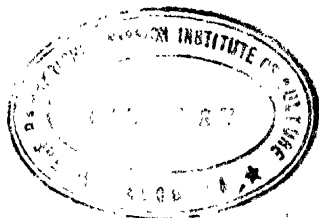
"Through Eden took, *with heav'nly comfort chear'd*."

To this reading we may object, that the verb wants the word *they* before it; for it is too far to fetch it from ver. 645, when two verses, of a quite different construction, are inserted between. Again, *chear'd with comfort* seems tautologous, for *comfort* is implied in *chear'd*, without its being mentioned. Lastly, if they went *hand in hand*, there is no need to tell us, that their steps were *social*; they could not be otherwise. So much for the Doctor's reading. We are now to consider the objections which the Doctor makes to the present reading. It contradicts (says he) the poet's own scheme, and the diction is not unexceptionable. With regard to the diction, he asks, Why were the steps *wandering* ones, when *Providence was their guide*? But it might be their *guide*, without pointing out to them which way they should take at every step: The words *Providence their guide* signify, that now since Michael, who had hitherto conducted them by the hand, was departed from them, they had no guide to their steps, only the general guidance of Providence to keep them safe and unhurt. Eve (it is plain) expected that her steps would be *wandering* ones, when, upon being told that she was to leave Paradise, she breaks out into these words, B. xi. 282.

"How shall I part? and whither *wander* down

"Into a lower world?"

Again the Doctor asks, Why *slow* steps; when Eve profess'd her readiness and alacrity for the journey, ver. 614? But that readiness was not an absolute one, it was a choosing rather to go



than to stay behind there without Adam, ver. 615, &c. In that view she was ready to go: but, in the view of leaving the delights of Paradise, they were both backward and even *linger'd*, ver. 638. Their steps therefore were *slow*. And why (says the Doctor) is their way called *solitary*, when their walks in Paradise were as solitary as their way now, there being no body besides them two both here and there? It may be answered, that their way was *solitary*, not in regard to any companions, whom they had met with elsewhere; but because they were here to meet with no objects of any kind that they were acquainted with: Nothing here was *familiar to their eyes*, and (as Adam, then in Paradise, well expresses it in B. xi. 305.)

————— “ all places else

“ Inhospitable appear, and *desolate*;

“ Nor knowing us, nor known.”

[And may we not, says Dr. Newton, by *solitary* understand farther their being now left by the Angel?] The last, but the main objection which the Doctor makes, is that this distich contradicts the poet's own scheme. To support this charge, he has referred us to half a dozen places of this twelfth book, where Adam and Eve are spoken of, as having *joy, peace, and consolation*, &c.; and from thence he concludes that this distich ought not to dismiss our first parents in anguish, and the reader in melancholy. But the *joy, peace, and consolation*, spoken of in those passages, are represented always as arising in our first parents from a view of some future good, chiefly of the Messiah. The thought of leaving Paradise (notwithstanding any other comfort that they had) was all along a *sorrowful* one to them. Upon this account Eve *fell asleep wearied with sorrow and distress of heart*, ver. 613. Both Adam and Eve *linger'd* at their quitting Paradise, ver. 638, and they *dropt some natural tears* on that occasion, ver. 645. In this view the Arch-Angel, ver. 603, recommends to our first parents that they should live *unanimous, though sad with cause for evils past*. And, for a plainer proof that the scheme of the Poem was to dismiss them not without *sorrow*, the poet in B. xi. 117. puts these words into God's mouth, as his instruction to Michael,

“ So send them forth, though *sorrowing*, yet in peace.”

PEARCE.

These two last verses have occasioned much trouble to the criticks, some being for rejecting, others for altering, and others again for transposing, them: But the propriety of the two lines, and the design of the author, are fully explained and vindicated in the excellent note of Dr. Pearce. And certainly there is no more necessity that an epick poem should conclude happily, than there is that a tragedy should conclude unhappily. There are instances of several tragedies ending happily; and with as good reason an epick poem may terminate fortunately or unfortunately, as the nature of the subject requires: And the subject of *Paradise Lost* plainly requires something of a sorrowful parting, and was intended no doubt for terrour as well as pity, to inspire us with the fear of God as well as with commiseration of Man.

NEWTON.

In the concluding passage there is brought together, with uncommon strength of fancy and rapidity of narrative, a number of circumstances, wonderfully adapted to the purpose of filling the mind with ideas of terriffick grandeur: The descent of the cherubim; the flaming sword; the archangel leading in haste our first parents down from the heights of Paradise, and then disappearing; and, above all, the scene that presents itself on their looking behind them:

“ They, looking back, all the eastern side beheld
 “ Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
 “ Wav’d over by that flaming brand; the gate
 “ With dreadful faces throng’d, and fiery arms:”

To which the remaining verses form the most striking contrast that can be imagined. The *final couplet* renews our sorrow; by exhibiting, with picturesque accuracy, the most mournful scene in nature; which yet is so prepared, as to raise comfort, and dispose to resignation. And thus, while we are at once melting in tendernefs, elevated with pious hope, and overwhelmed with the grandeur of description, the divine Poem concludes.

BRATTIE.

It has been propos’d in Peck’s *Memoirs of Milton*, and lately in a modern publication, to transpose the concluding verses thus:

“ Some natural tears they dropt, but wip’d them soon;
 “ Then, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,

“ Through Eden took their solitary way.

“ The world was all before them where to choose

“ Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.”

The learned author of the modern publication further observes, that, if a period be placed at the end of the first line, the pronoun *they* may be retained; but that the reading proposed seems preferable. *An Essay on the Nature of the English Verse*, Lond. 1799. p. 126.

But the beautiful simplicity of the concluding verses must not be violated by any alteration, however ingenious, however “ fair-appearing.” For, as Mr. Burgess has observed, the poet, *in ending with the description of Adam and Eve’s departure through Eden*, recalls in a very lively manner the subject of the Poem;

“ Of Man’s first disobedience, and the fruit

“ Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste

“ Brought death into the world, and all our woe,

“ With loss of Eden;”

and leaves very powerfully on the mind of the reader the impression with which he set out, by which the Poem becomes more unique and perfect.

Mr. Stillingfleet, in reply to the preceding criticism of Dr. Bentley, maintains also the position of the concluding distich; justly observing, that the two last lines are as proper to show the condition of Adam and Eve at parting, as the two preceding lines are to inform the reader that, however seemingly deserted, they were under the care of Providence. “ Milton,” the learned critic continues, “ knew nothing of that art, since practised, of ending with a blaze. Thus also *Paradise Regained* ends with a simplicity, which our modern poets would surely have avoided: but he and they followed different guides: for he followed nature, and the ancients; but we may say to them,

— οὐ πατρῶν τὴν τέχνην κομίζετε.”

If ever any book was truly poetical, if ever any abounded with poetry, 'tis *Paradise Lost*. What an expansion of facts from a small seed of history! What worlds are invented, what embellishments of nature upon what our senses present us with! Divine things are more nobly, more divinely, represented to the imagination than by any other poem; a more beautiful idea is given of nature than any poet has pretended to, nature, as just come out of the hand of God, in all its virgin loveliness, glory, and purity; and the human race is shown, not, as Homer's, more gigantick, more robust, more valiant, but without comparison more truly amiable, more so than by the pictures and statues of the greatest masters. And all these sublime ideas are conveyed to us in the most effectual and engaging manner. The mind of the reader is tempered, and prepared, by pleasure; 'tis drawn, and allured, 'tis awakened, and invigorated, to receive such impressions as the poet intended to give it: The Poem opens the fountains of knowledge, piety, and virtue; and pours along full streams of peace, comfort, and joy, to such as can penetrate the true sense of the writer, and obediently listen to his song.

In reading the *Iliad* or *Æneid* we treasure up a collection of fine imaginative pictures, as when we read *Paradise Lost*; only that from thence we have (to speak like a connoisseur) more Raffaelles, Correggios, Guides, &c. Milton's pictures are more sublime and great, divine and lovely, than Homer's, or Virgil's, or those of any other poet, or of all the poets, ancient or modern.

RICHARDSON.

Throughout the whole of *Paradise Lost* the author appears to have been a most critical reader, and passionate admirer, of Holy Scripture. He is indebted to Scripture infinitely more than to Homer, and Virgil, and all other books whatever. Not only the principal fable, but all his episodes are founded upon Scripture. The Scripture has not only furnished him with the noblest hints, raised his thoughts, and fired his imagination; but has also very much enriched his language, given a certain solemnity and majesty to his diction, and supplied him with many of his choicest, happiest, expressions. Let men therefore learn, from this instance, to reverence the Sacred Writings. If any man can pretend to deride or despise them, it must be said of him at least, that he has a taste and genius the most different from Milton's

that can be imagined. Whoever has any true taste and genius, we are confident, will esteem this Poem the best of modern productions, and the Scriptures the best of all ancient ones.

NEWTON.

I am now to examine *Paradise Lost*; a Poem, which, considered with respect to design, may claim the first place, and with respect to performance the second among the productions of the human mind.

By the general consent of criticks, the first praise of genius is due to the writer of an epick poem, as it requires an assemblage of all the powers which are singly sufficient for other compositions. Poetry is the art of uniting pleasure with truth, by calling imagination to the help of reason. Epick poetry undertakes to teach the most important truths by the most pleasing precepts, and therefore relates some great event in the most affecting manner. History must supply the writer with the rudiments of narration, which he must improve and exalt by a nobler art, animate by dramatick energy, and diversify by retrospection and anticipation; morality must teach him the exact bounds, and different shades, of vice and virtue: from policy, and the practice of life, he has to learn the discriminations of character, and the tendency of the passions, either single or combined; and physiology must supply him with illustrations and images. To put these materials to poetical use, is required an imagination capable of painting nature, and realizing fiction. Nor is he yet a poet till he has attained the whole extension of his language, distinguished all the delicacies of phrase, and all the colours of words, and learned to adjust their different sounds to all the varieties of metrical modulation.

Boswell is of opinion that the poet's first work is to find a *moral*, which his fable is afterwards to illustrate and establish. This seems to have been the process only of Milton; the moral of other poems is incidental and consequent; in Milton's only it is essential and intrinsic. His purpose was the most useful and the most arduous; *to vindicate the ways of God to Man*; to show the reasonableness of religion, and the necessity of obedience to the Divine Law.

To convey this moral there must be a fable, a narration artfully constructed, so as to excite curiosity, and surprise expecta-

tion. In this part of his work, Milton must be confessed to have equalled every other poet. He has involved, in his account of the Fall of Man, the events which preceded, and those that were to follow it: he has interwoven the whole system of theology with such propriety, that every part appears to be necessary; and scarcely any recital is wished shorter for the sake of quickening the progress of the main action.

The subject of an epick poem is naturally an event of great importance. That of Milton is not the destruction of a city, the conduct of a colony, or the foundation of an empire. His subject is the fate of worlds, the revolutions of Heaven and of Earth; rebellion against the Supreme King, raised by the highest order of created Beings; the overthrow of their host, and the punishment of their crime; the creation of a new race of reasonable creatures; their original happiness and innocence, their forfeiture of immortality, and their restoration to hope and peace.

Great events can be hastened or retarded only by persons of elevated dignity. Before the greatness displayed in Milton's Poem, all other greatness shrinks away. The weakest of his agents are the highest and noblest of human Beings, the original parents of mankind; with whose actions the elements consented; on whose rectitude, or deviation of will, depended the state of terrestrial nature, and the condition of all the future inhabitants of the globe.

Of the other agents in the Poem, the chief are such as it is irreverence to name on slight occasions. The rest were lower Powers;

— “ of which the least could wield

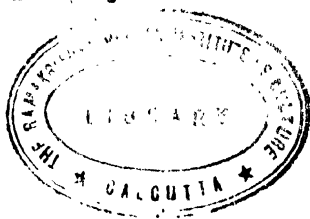
“ Those elements, and arm him with the force

“ Of all their regions :”

Powers, which only the controul of Omnipotence restrains from laying creation waste, and filling the vast expanse of space with ruin and confusion. To display the motives and actions of beings thus superiour, so far as human reason can examine them, or human imagination represent them, is the task which this mighty poet has undertaken and performed.

In the examination of epick poems much speculation is commonly employed upon the characters. The characters in the *Paradise Lost*, which admit of examination, are those of Angels and

H h 4



of Man; of Angels good and evil; of Man in his innocent and sinful state.

Among the Angels, the virtue of Raphael is mild and placid, of easy condescension and free communication; that of Michael is regal and lofty, and, as may seem, attentive to the dignity of his own nature. Abdiel and Gabriel appear occasionally, and act as every incident requires; the solitary fidelity of Abdiel is very amiably painted.

Of the evil Angels the characters are more diversified. To Satan, as Addison observes, such sentiments are given as suit *the most exalted and most depraved Being*. Milton has been censured, by Clarke *, for the impiety which sometimes breaks from Satan's mouth. For there are thoughts, as he justly remarks, which no observation of character can justify, because no good man would willingly permit them to pass, however transiently, through his own mind. To make Satan speak as a rebel, without any such expressions as might taint the reader's imagination, was indeed one of the great difficulties in Milton's undertaking, and I cannot but think that he has extricated himself with great happiness. There is in Satan's speeches little that can give pain to a pious ear. The language of rebellion cannot be the same with that of obedience. The malignity of Satan foams in haughtiness and obstinacy; but his expressions are commonly general, and no otherwise offensive than as they are wicked.

The other chiefs of the celestial rebellion are very judiciously discriminated in the first and second books; and the ferocious character of Moloch appears, both in the battle and the council, with exact consistency.

To Adam and to Eve are given, during their innocence, such sentiments as innocence can generate and utter. Their love is pure benevolence and mutual veneration; their repasts are without luxury, and their diligence without toil. Their addresses to their Maker have little more than the voice of admiration and gratitude. Fruition left them nothing to ask, and Innocence left them nothing to fear.

But with guilt enter distrust and discord, mutual accusation, and stubborn self-defence; they regard each other with alienated minds, and deced their Creator as the avenger of their transgress.

* Author of the "Essay on Study," Dr. J.

sion. At last they seek shelter in his mercy, soften to repentance, and melt in supplication. Both before and after the Fall, the superiority of Adam is diligently sustained.

Of the *probable* and the *marvellous*, two parts of a vulgar epic poem, which immerse the critic in deep consideration, the *Paradise Lost* requires little to be said. It contains the history of a miracle, of Creation and Redemption; it displays the power and the mercy of the Supreme Being; the probable therefore is marvellous, and the marvellous is probable. The substance of the narrative is truth; and, as truth allows no choice, it is, like necessity, superiour to rule. To the accidental or adventitious parts, as to every thing human, some slight exceptions may be made. But the main fabrick is immovably supported.

It is justly remarked by Addison, that this Poem has, by the nature of its subject, the advantage above all others, that it is universally and perpetually interesting*. All mankind will, through all ages, bear the same relation to Adam and to Eve, and must partake of that good and evil which extend to themselves.

Of the machinery, so called from *Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*, by which is meant the occasional interposition of supernatural power, another fertile topick of critical remarks, here is no room to speak, because every thing is done under the immediate and visible direction of Heaven; but the rule is so far observed, that no part of the action could have been accomplished by any other means.

Of episodes, I think there are only two, contained in Raphael's relation of the war in heaven, and Michael's prophetick account of the changes to happen in this world. Both are closely connected with the great action; one was necessary to Adam as a warning, the other as a consolation.

To the completeness or *integrity* of the design nothing can be objected; it has distinctly and clearly what Aristotle requires, a beginning, a middle, and an end. There is perhaps no poem, of the same length, from which so little can be taken without apparent mutilation. Here are no funeral games, nor is there any long description of a shield. The short digressions at the beginning of the third, seventh, and ninth books, might doubtless be

* [See however the Note on this remark of Addison, *Prolegom.* vol. i. p. 40.]

spared; but superfluities so beautiful, who would take away? or who does not wish that the author of the *Iliad* had gratified succeeding ages with a little knowledge of himself? Perhaps no passages are more frequently or more attentively read than those extrinsick paragraphs; and, since the end of poetry is pleasure, that cannot be unpoetical with which all are pleased.

The questions, whether the action of the Poem be strictly *one*, whether the Poem can be properly termed *heroick*, and who is the hero, are raised by such readers as draw their principles of judgement rather from books than from reason. Milton, though he intituled *Paradise Lost* only a *poem*, yet calls it himself *heroick song*. Dryden, petulantly and indecently, denies the heroism of Adam, because he was overcome; but there is no reason why the hero should not be unfortunate, except established practice, since success and virtue do not go necessarily together. Cato is the hero of Lucan; but Lucan's authority will not be suffered by Quintilian to decide. However, if success be necessary, Adam's deceiver was at last crushed; Adam was restored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may securely resume his human rank.

After the scheme and fabrick of the Poem, must be considered its component parts, the sentiments and the diction.

The sentiments, as expressive of manners, or appropriated to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably just.

Splendid passages, containing lessons of morality, or precepts of prudence, occur seldom. Such is the original formation of this Poem, that, as it admits no human manners till the Fall, it can give little assistance to human conduct. Its end is to raise the thoughts above sublunary cares or pleasures. Yet the praise of that fortitude, with which Abdiel maintained his singularity of virtue against the scorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times; and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curiosity after the planetary motions, with the answer returned by Adam, may be confidently opposed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

The thoughts, which are occasionally called forth in the progress, are such as could only be produced by an imagination in the highest degree fervid and active, to which materials were supplied by incessant study and unlimited curiosity. The heat of Milton's mind might be said to sublimate his learning, to throw

off into his work the spirit of science, unmingled with its grosser parts.

He had considered creation in its whole extent, and his descriptions are therefore learned. He had accustomed his imagination to unrestrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extensive. The characteristic quality of his Poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant; but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace; but his natural port is gigantick loftiness*. He can please when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power to astonish.

He seems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that Nature had bestowed upon him more bountifully than upon others; the power of displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful: he therefore chose a subject on which too much could not be said, on which he might tire his fancy without the censure of extravagance.

The appearances of nature, and the occurrences of life, did not satiate his appetite of greatness. To paint things as they are, requires a minute attention, and employs the memory rather than the fancy. Milton's delight was to sport in the wide regions of possibility; reality was a scene too narrow for his mind. He sent his faculties out upon discovery, into worlds where only imagination can travel; and delighted to form new modes of existence, and furnish sentiment and action to superiour Beings, to trace the counsels of Hell, or accompany the choirs of Heaven.

But he could not be always in other worlds: he must sometimes revisit earth, and tell of things visible and known. When he cannot raise wonder by the sublimity of his mind, he gives delight by its fertility.

Whatever be his subject, he never fails to fill the imagination. But his images and descriptions of the scenes or operations of Nature do not seem to be always copied from original form, or to have the freshness, raciness, and energy, of immediate observation. He saw Nature, as Dryden expresses it, *through the*

* Algarotti terms it *gigantesca sublimità Miltoniana*. Dr. J.

ſpectacles of books; and on moſt occasions calls learning to his aſſiſtance. The garden of Eden brings to his mind the vale of *Enna*, where Proſerpine was gathering flowers. Satan makes his way through fighting elements, like *Argo* between the *Cyanean* rocks, or *Ulyſſes* between the two *Sicilian* whirlpools, when he ſhunned *Charybdis* on the *larboard*. The mythological alluſions have been juſtly cenſured, as not being always uſed with notice of their vanity; but they contribute variety to the narration, and produce an alternate exerciſe of the memory and the fancy.

His ſimilies are leſs numerous, and more various, than thoſe of his predeceſſours. But he does not confine himſelf within the limits of rigorous compariſon: his great excellence is amplitude, and he expands the adventitious image beyond the dimenſions which the occaſion required. Thus, comparing the ſhield of Satan to the orb of the moon, he crowds the imagination with the diſcovery of the teleſcope, and all the wonders which the teleſcope diſcovers.

Of his moral ſentiments it is hardly praiſe to affirm that they excel thoſe of all other poets; for this ſuperiority he was indebted to his acquaintance with the ſacred writings. The ancient epic poets, wanting the light of Revelation, were very unſkilful teachers of virtue: their principal characters may be great, but they are not amiable. The reader may riſe from their works with a greater degree of active or paſſive fortitude, and ſometimes of prudence; but he will be able to carry away few precepts of juſtice, and none of mercy.

From the Italian writers it appears, that the advantages of even Chriſtian knowledge may be poſſeſſed in vain. Arioſto's pravity is generally known; and, though the *Deliverance of Jeruſalem* may be conſidered as a ſacred ſubject, the poet has been very ſparing of moral inſtruction.

In Milton every line breathes ſanctity of thought, and purity of manners, except when the train of the narration requires the introduction of the rebellious Spirits; and even they are compelled to acknowledge their ſubjection to God, in ſuch a manner as excites reverence and confirms piety.

Of human Beings there are but two; but thoſe two are the parents of mankind, venerable before their fall for dignity and innocence, and amiable after it for repentance and ſubmiſſion. In

their first state their affection is tender without weakness, and their piety sublime without presumption. When they have sinned, they show how discord begins in natural frailty, and how it ought to cease in mutual forbearance; how confidence of the divine favour is forfeited by sin, and how hope of pardon may be obtained by penitence and prayer. A state of innocence we can only conceive, if indeed, in our present misery, it be possible to conceive it; but the sentiments and worship proper to a fallen and offending Being, we have all to learn, as we have all to practise.

The poet, whatever be done, is always great. Our progenitors, in their first state, conversed with Angels; even when folly and sin had degraded them, they had not in their humiliation *the port of mean suitors*; and they rise again to reverential regard, when we find that their prayers were heard.

As human passions did not enter the world before the Fall, there is in the *Paradise Lost* little opportunity for the pathetic; but what little there is has not been lost. That passion which is peculiar to rational nature, the anguish arising from the consciousness of transgression, and the horrors attending the sense of the Divine displeasure, are very justly described and forcibly impressed. But the passions are moved only on one occasion; sublimity is the general and prevailing quality in this Poem; sublimity variously modified, sometimes descriptive, sometimes argumentative.

The defects and faults of *Paradise Lost*, for faults and defects every work of man must have, it is the business of impartial criticism to discover. As, in displaying the excellence of Milton, I have not made long quotations, because of selecting beauties there had been no end, I shall in the same general manner mention that which seems to deserve censure; for what Englishman can take delight in transcribing passages, which, if they lessen the reputation of Milton, diminish in some degree the honour of our country?

The generality of my scheme does not admit the frequent notice of verbal inaccuracies; which Bentley, perhaps better skilled in grammar than in poetry, has often found, though he sometimes made them, and which he imputed to the obtrusions of a reviser whom the author's blindness obliged him to employ. A suppo-

fiction rash and groundless, if he thought it true; and vile and pernicious, if, as is said, he in private allowed it to be false.

The plan of *Paradise Lost* has this inconvenience, that it comprises neither human actions nor human manners. The Man and Woman, who act and suffer, are in a state which no other man or woman can ever know. The reader finds no transaction in which he can be engaged; beholds no condition in which he can by any effort of imagination place himself; he has, therefore, little natural curiosity or sympathy.

We all, indeed, feel the effects of Adam's disobedience; we all sin like Adam, and like him must all bewail our offences; we have restless and insidious enemies in the fallen Angels, and in the blessed Spirits we have guardians and friends; in the Redemption of mankind we hope to be included; and in the description of Heaven and Hell we are surely interested, as we are all to reside hereafter either in the regions of horror or of bliss.

But these truths are too important to be new; they have been taught to our infancy; they have mingled with our solitary thoughts and familiar conversation, and are habitually interwoven with the whole texture of life. Being therefore not new, they raise no unaccustomed emotion in the mind; what we knew before we cannot learn; what is not unexpected cannot surprise.

Of the ideas suggested by these awful scenes, from some we recede with reverence, except when stated hours require their association; and from others we shrink with horror, or admit them only as salutary inflictions, as counterpoises to our interests and passions. Such images rather obstruct the career of fancy than incite it.

Pleasure and terror are indeed the genuine sources of poetry; but poetical pleasure must be such as human imagination can at least conceive, and poetical terror such as human strength and fortitude may combat. The good and evil of Eternity are too ponderous for the wings of wit; the mind sinks under them in passive helplessness, content with calm belief and humble adoration.

Known truths, however, may take a different appearance, and be conveyed to the mind by a new train of intermediate images. This Milton has undertaken, and performed it with pregnancy

and vigour of mind peculiar to himself. Whoever considers the few radical positions which the Scriptures afforded him, will wonder by what energetick operation he expanded them to such extent, and ramified them to so much variety, restrained as he was by religious reverence from licentiousness of fiction.

Here is a full display of the united force of study and genius : of a great accumulation of materials, with judgement to digest, and fancy to combine, them : Milton was able to select from nature, or from story, from ancient fable, or from modern science, whatever could illustrate or adorn his thoughts. An accumulation of knowledge impregnated his mind, fermented by study, and sublimed by imagination.

It has been therefore said, without an indecent hyperbole, by one of his encomiasts, that in reading *Paradise Lost* we read a book of universal knowledge.

But original deficiency cannot be supplied. The want of human interest is always felt. *Paradise Lost* is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down, and forgets to take up again. Its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure. We read Milton for instruction, retire harrassed and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation ; we desert our master, and seek for companions.

Another inconvenience of Milton's design is, that it requires the description of what cannot be described, the agency of Spirits. He saw that immateriality supplied no images, and that he could not show Angels acting but by instruments of action ; he therefore invested them with form and matter. This, being necessary, was therefore defensible ; and he should have secured the consistency of his system, by keeping immateriality out of sight, and enticing his reader to drop it from his thoughts. But he has unhappily perplexed his poetry with his philosophy. His infernal and celestial powers are sometimes pure spirit, and sometimes animated body. When Satan walks with his lance upon the *burning marle*, he has a body ; when, in his passage between Hell and the new world, he is in danger of sinking in the vacuity, and is supported by a gulf of rising vapours, he has a body ; when he animates the toad, he seems to be mere spirit, that can penetrate matter at pleasure ; when he *starts up in his own shape*, he has at

least a determin'd form; and when he is brought before Gabriel, he has a *spear and shield*, which he had the power of hiding in the toad, though the arms of the contending Angels are evidently material.

The vulgar inhabitants of Pandemonium being *incorporeal Spirits*, are *at large, though without number*, in a limited space; yet in the battle, when they were overwhelmed by mountains, their armour hurt them, *crushed in upon their substance, now grown gross by sinning*. This likewise happened to the uncorrupted Angels, who were overthrown *the sooner for their arms*, for *unarmed they might easily as Spirits have evaded by contraction, or remove*. Even as Spirits they are hardly spiritual; for *contraction and remove* are images of matter; but, if they could have escaped without their armour, they might have escaped from it, and left only the empty cover to be battered. Uriel, when he rides on a sun-beam, is material: Satan is material when he is afraid of the prowess of Adam.

The confusion of spirit and matter which pervades the whole narration of the War of Heaven fills it with incongruity; and the book, in which it is related, is, I believe, the favourite of children, and gradually neglected as knowledge is encreased.

After the operation of immaterial agents, which cannot be explained, may be considered that of allegorical persons, which have no real existence. To exalt causes into agents, to invest abstract ideas with form, and animate them with activity, has always been the right of poetry. But such airy Beings are, for the most part, suffered only to do their natural office, and retire. Thus Fame tells a tale, and Victory hovers over a general, or perches on a standard; but Fame and Victory can do no more. To give them any real employment, or ascribe to them any material agency, is to make them allegorical no longer, but to shock the mind by ascribing effects to non-entity. In the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, we see *Violence and Strength*, and in the *Alceſtis* of Euripides, we see *Death* brought upon the stage, all as active persons of the drama; but no precedents can justify absurdity.

Milton's allegory of Sin and Death is undoubtedly faulty. Sin is indeed the mother of Death, and may be allowed to be the portress of hell; but when they stop the journey of Satan, a journey described as real, and when Death offers him battle, the

allegory is broken. That Sin and Death should have shown the way to Hell might have been allowed ; but they cannot facilitate the passage by building a bridge, because the difficulty of Satan's passage is described as real and sensible, and the bridge ought to be only figurative. The Hell, assigned to the rebellious Spirits, is described as not less local than the residence of Man. It is placed in some distant part of space, separated from the regions of harmony and order by a chaotic waste and an unoccupied vacuity ; but *Sin* and *Death* worked up a *mole* of *aggravated soil*, cemented with *asphaltus* ; a work too bulky for ideal architects.

This unskilful allegory appears to me one of the greatest faults of the Poem ; and to this there was no temptation, but the author's opinion of its beauty.

To the conduct of the narrative some objections may be made. Satan is with great expectation brought before Gabriel in Paradise, and is suffered to go away unmolested. The creation of Man is represented as the consequence of the vacuity left in Heaven by the expulsion of the rebels, yet Satan mentions it as a report *rife in Heaven* before his departure.

To find sentiments for the state of innocence, was very difficult ; and something of anticipation perhaps is now and then discovered. Adam's discourse of dreams seems not to be the speculation of a new-created Being. I know not whether his answer to the Angel's reproof for curiosity does not want something of propriety : it is the speech of a man acquainted with many other men. Some philosophical notions, especially when the philosophy is false, might have been better omitted. The Angel, in a comparison, speaks of *timorous deer*, before deer were yet timorous, and before Adam could understand the comparison.

Dryden remarks, that Milton has some flats among his elevations. This is only to say that all the parts are not equal. In every work one part must be for the sake of others ; a palace must have passages ; a poem must have transitions. It is no more to be required that wit should always be blazing, than that the sun should always stand at noon. In a great work there is a vicissitude of luminous and opaque parts, as there is in the world a succession of day and night. Milton, when he has expatiated in the sky, may be allowed sometimes to revisit earth ; for what

other author ever soared so high, or sustained his flight so long ?

Milton, being well versed in the Italian poets, appears to have borrowed often from them : and, as every man learns something from his companions, his desire of imitating Ariosto's levity has disgraced his work with the *Paradise of Fools* ; a fiction not in itself ill-imagined, but too ludicrous for its place.

His play on words, in which he delights too often ; his equivocations, which Bentley endeavours to defend by the example of the ancients ; his unnecessary and ungraceful use of terms of art, it is not necessary to mention, because they are easily remarked, and generally censured, and at last bear so little proportion to the whole, that they scarcely deserve the attention of a critick.

Such are the faults of that wonderful performance *Paradise Lost* ; which he who can put in balance with its beauties must be considered not as nice but as dull, as less to be censured for want of candour than pitied for want of sensibility. JOHNSON.

Milton has chalked out for himself a new and very extraordinary road in poetry. As soon as we open his *Paradise Lost*, we find ourselves introduced all at once into an invisible world, and surrounded with celestial and infernal Beings. Angels, and Devils, are not the machinery, but principal actors, in the Poem ; and what in any other composition would be the marvellous, is here only the natural course of events. A subject so remote from the affairs of this world, may furnish ground to those, who think such discussions material, to bring it into doubt, whether *Paradise Lost* can properly be classed among epick poems. By whatever name it is to be called, it is, undoubtedly, one of the highest efforts of poetical genius ; and in one great characteristick of the epick poem, Majesty and Sublimity, it is fully equal to any that bear that name.

How far the author was altogether happy in the choice of his subject, may be questioned. It has led him into very difficult ground. Had he taken a subject that was more human, and less theological ; that was more connected with the occurrences of life, and afforded a greater display of the characters and passions of men, his Poem would, perhaps, have, to the bulk of readers, been more pleasing and attractive. But the subject, which he

has chosen, suited the daring sublimity of his genius. It is a subject for which Milton alone was fitted; and, in the conduct of it, he has shown a stretch both of imagination and invention, which is perfectly wonderful. It is astonishing how, from the few hints given us in the Sacred Scriptures, he was able to raise so complete and regular a structure; and to fill his Poem with such a variety of incidents. Dry and harsh passages sometimes occur. The author appears, upon some occasions, a Metaphysician and a Divine, rather than a poet. But the general tenour of his work is interesting; he seizes and fixes the imagination; engages, elevates, and affects us as we proceed; which is always a sure test of merit in an epick composition. The artful change of his objects; the scene laid now in Earth, now in Hell, and now in Heaven, affords a sufficient diversity; while unity of plan is, at the same time, perfectly supported. We have still life, and calm scenes, in the employments of Adam and Eve in Paradise; and we have busy scenes, and great actions, in the enterprise of Satan, and the wars of the Angels. The innocence, purity, and amiableness of our first parents, opposed to the pride and ambition of Satan, furnish a happy contrast, that reigns throughout the whole Poem; only the conclusion is too tragick for epick poetry.

The nature of the subject did not admit any great display of characters; but such as could be introduced are supported with much propriety. Satan, in particular, makes a striking figure, and is, indeed, the best drawn character in the Poem. Milton has not described him, such as we suppose an infernal Spirit to be. He has, more suitably to his own purpose, given him a human, that is, a mixed character, not altogether void of some good qualities. He is brave and faithful to his troops. In the midst of his impiety, he is not without remorse. He is even touched with pity for our first parents; and justifies himself in his design against them, from the necessity of his situation. He is actuated by ambition and resentment, rather than by pure malice. In short, Milton's Satan is no worse than many a conspirator, or factious chief, that makes a figure in history. The different characters of Beelzebub, Moloch, and Belial, are exceedingly well painted in those eloquent speeches which they make, in the second book. The good Angels, though always described with dignity and propriety, have more uniformity than the Infernal

Spirits in their appearance ; though among them, too, the dignity of Michael, the mild condescension of Raphael, and the tried fidelity of Abdiel, form proper characteristical distinctions. The attempt to describe God Almighty himself, and to recount dialogues between the Father and the Son, was too bold and arduous, and is that wherein our poet, as was to have been expected, has been most unsuccessful. With regard to his human characters ; the innocence of our first parents, and their love, are finely and delicately painted. In some of his speeches to Raphael and to Eve, Adam is, perhaps, too knowing and refined for his situation. Eve is more distinctly characterised. Her gentleness, modesty, and frailty, mark very expressively a female character.

Milton's great and distinguishing excellence is, his sublimity. In this, perhaps, he excels Homer ; as there is no doubt of his leaving Virgil, and every other poet, far behind him. Almost the whole of the first and second books of *Paradise Lost* are continued instances of the sublime. The prospect of Hell and of the fallen host, the appearance and behaviour of Satan, the consultation of the infernal chiefs, and Satan's flight through Chaos to the borders of this world, discover the most lofty ideas that ever entered into the conception of any poet. In the sixth book also, there is much grandeur, particularly in the appearance of the Messiah ; though some parts of that book are censurable ; and the witticisms of the Devils upon the effect of their artillery, form an intolerable blemish. Milton's sublimity is of a different kind from that of Homer. Homer's is generally accompanied with fire and impetuosity ; Milton's possesses more of a calm and amazing grandeur. Homer warms and hurries us along ; Milton fixes us in a state of astonishment and elevation. Homer's sublimity appears most in the description of actions ; Milton's, in that of wonderful and stupendous objects.

But though Milton is most distinguished for his sublimity, yet there is also much of the beautiful, the tender, and the pleasing, in many parts of his work. When the scene is laid in Paradise, the imagery is always of the most gay and smiling kind. His descriptions show an uncommonly fertile imagination ; and in his similes he is, for the most part, remarkably happy. They are seldom improperly introduced ; seldom either low, or trite. They generally present to us images taken from the sublime or the

beautiful class of objects; if they have any faults, it is their alluding too frequently to matters of learning, and to fables of antiquity. In the latter part of *Paradise Lost*, there must be confessed to be a falling off. With the fall of our first parents, Milton's genius seems to decline. Beauties, however, there are in the concluding Books, of the tragick kind. The remorse and contrition of the guilty pair, and their lamentations over Paradise when they are obliged to leave it, are very moving. The last episode of the Angel's showing Adam the fate of his posterity, is happily imagined; but, in many places, the execution is languid.

Milton's language and versification have high merit. His style is full of majesty, and wonderfully adapted to his subject. His blank verse is harmonious and diversified, and affords the most complete example of the elevation, which our language is capable of attaining by the force of numbers. It does not flow like the French verse, in tame, regular, uniform melody, which soon tires the ear; but is sometimes smooth and flowing, sometimes rough; varied in its cadence, and intermixed with discords, so as to suit the strength and freedom of epick composition. Neglected and prosaic lines, indeed, we sometimes meet with; but in a work so long, and in the main so harmonious, these may be forgiven.

On the whole; *Paradise Lost* is a Poem that abounds with beauties of every kind, and that justly entitles its author to a degree of fame not inferiour to that of any poet; though it must be also admitted to have many inequalities. It is the lot of almost every high and daring genius, not to be uniform and correct. Milton is too frequently theological and metaphysical; sometimes harsh in his language; often too technical in his words, and affectedly ostentatious of his learning. Many of his faults must be attributed to the age in which he lived. He discovers a vigour, a grasp of genius equal to every thing that is great; if at sometimes he falls much below himself, at other times he rises above every poet of the ancient or modern world. BLAIR.

If Milton's Raphael, his Satan, and his Adam, have as much dignity as the Apollo Belvidere; his Eve has all the delicacy of the Venus of Medici, and his description of Eden has the colouring of Albano. His tenderness always imprints ideas as graceful

as Guido's Madonnas; and the Allegro, Penseroso, and Comus, might be denominated from the three Graces. His soul was full of poetry, sense, and fire; and he had improved all those qualities by studying the best models. Thus prepared, he gave a loose to his genius, which was too impetuous and sublime to be curbed by the mechanism of rhyme; which would often have impeded his expressing all he felt, and oftener perhaps have obliged him to add frigidities to help out the return of the sound.

LORD ORFORD.

Enthusiasm was the characteristic of Milton's mind: In politicks, it made him sometimes too generously credulous, and sometimes too rigorously decisive; but, in poetry, it exalted him to such a degree of excellence as no man has hitherto surpassed; nor is it probable that in this province he will ever be excelled; for, although in all the arts there are undoubtedly points of perfection much higher than any mortal has yet attained, still it requires such a coincidence of so many advantages depending on the influence both of nature and of destiny to raise a great artist of any kind, that the world has but little reason to expect productions of poetical genius superiour to the *Paradise Lost*. There was a bold yet refined originality of conception, which characterized the mental powers of Milton, and gives him the highest claim to distinction: We are not only indebted to him for having extended and ennobled the province of epick poetry; but he has another title to our regard, as the founder of that recent and enchanting English art, which has embellished our country, and

“ made Albion smile
 “ One ample theatre of sylvan grace.”

The elegant historian of modern gardening, Lord Orford, and the two accomplished poets, who have celebrated its charms both in France and England, De Lille and Mafon, have, with great justice and felicity of expression, paid their homage to Milton, as the beneficent genius, who bestowed upon the world this youngest and most lovely of the arts. HAYLEY.

It might seem unjust to the poetical character of Milton, if I closed the remarks on his immortal Poem, without observing that the sixth book has been perhaps too contemptuously treated. It has been described, in the brilliant and animated criticism of Johnson,

as fit to be "the favourite of children." But Mr. Hayley elegantly replies that "imagination itself may be depreciated, by the austerity of logick, as a childish faculty; but those, who love even its excesses, may be allowed to exult in its delights. No reader truly poetical ever perused the sixth book without enjoying a kind of transport, which a stern logician might indeed condemn, but which he might also think it more desirable to share." Nor can I think that the perusal of *Paradise Lost* is "a duty rather than a pleasure;" that "we read Milton for instruction, retire harassed, and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation." No; if we listen obediently to his song, perhaps we shall acknowledge similar sensations to those with which our first parent was once so sweetly affected:

" The Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
 " So charming left his voice, that he a while
 " Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear,
 " Then, as new wak'd, thus gratefully replied.
 " What thanks sufficient, &c."

APPENDIX TO PARADISE LOST,

containing plans of similar subjects,

intended for TRAGEDIES by Milton :

From his own MS, in Trinity College, Cambridge.

IN the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is a thin folio manuscript, marked, in the year 1799, when I was obligingly permitted by the Master and Fellows of that society to examine it, *Miscell.* R. iii. 4. It is handsomely bound ; and to the inside of one of the covers is pasted a paper with this inscription : “ Membra hæc eruditissimi et pænè divine Poetæ olim miserè disjecta et passim sparfa, postea verò fortuitò inventa, et in unum denuo collecta à CAROLO MASON ejusdem Collegii Socio, et inter Miscellanea reposita, deinceps eâ quâ decuit religione servari voluit a THOMAS CLARKE, nuperrimè hujusce Collegii, nunc verò Medii Templi Londini, Socius, 1736.” These papers were found by Dr. Mason, above-mentioned, who was also Woodwardian professor at Cambridge, among other old and neglected manuscripts belonging to Sir Henry Newton Puckering ^b, a con-

^a Afterwards Master of the Rolls, and Knight.

^b Mr. Warton says that Sir Henry “ had so great an affection for this college, in which he had been educated, that in his eightieth year he desired to be readmitted : and, residing there a whole summer, presented to the new library, just then finished, his own collection of books, amounting to near four thousand volumes. He was son of sir Adam Newton, tutor to Prince Henry ; and many papers written by that prince, or relating to him, are involved in the collection. Sir Henry took the name of Puckering in remembrance of his uncle sir Thomas Puckering of Warwickshire, a learned and

siderable benefactor to the Library. They contain two draughts of a letter to a friend, who had importuned Milton to take orders; the following plans of *Paradise Lost* in the form of a tragedy, or mystery; the plans or subjects of several other intended tragedies, all in the poet's own hand; and entire copies of many of his smaller poems, in the same hand, except in a few instances, exhibiting his first thoughts and subsequent corrections. All these variations, Mr. Warton has observed, have been imperfectly and incorrectly printed by Dr. Birch. Various Readings of this MS. have been also admitted into Dr. Newton's edition of all Milton's poetical works; as have such, which relate to the respective pieces, and which have been more minutely investigated, in Mr. Warton's two editions of Milton's smaller poems. Upon a careful examination of this manuscript, I have discovered a few peculiarities, or variations of expression, which have escaped the notice of those who have preceded me in describing this literary curiosity; and which will be found in their proper places. For I have added, at the end of each particular poem, as of *Lycidas*, *Arcades*, and *Comus*; and at the end of each series of poems, as of *Sonnets*, *Odes*, and *Miscellanies*; the several Various Readings respectively belonging to them. In this arrangement I hope to gratify the reader; who, after reading the finished poem, may then trace without interruption, (to use the language of Dr. Johnson respecting the imperfect rudiments of *Paradise Lost*,) the gradual growth and expansion of great works in their seminal state; and observe how they are sometimes suddenly advanced by accidental hints, and sometimes slowly improved by steady meditation. For this reason also I have placed the dramatick plans of *Paradise Lost* at the conclusion of the poet's sublimer "heroick song;" and have subjoined, to the tragedy of *Samson Agonistes*, the plans of Milton's other intended dramas,

accomplished man, brother in law to sir Adam Newton, son of lord Keeper Puckering, a companion of the studies of prince Henry. Many of the books were presents to the prince from authors or editors. In Dr. Duport's *Horæ subsecivæ*, a poem is addressed to this preserver of Milton's Manuscripts, *Ad D. Henricum Puckeringum, alias Newtonum, Equitem baronetum*. Cantabr. 1676. 8vo. pp. 222, 223. This sir Henry had a son, pupil to Dr. Duport at Trinity college, but who died before his father."

Of the tragedy or mystery there are two plans.

THE PERSONS.

Michael.
Heavenly Love.
Chorus of Angels.
Lucifer.
Adam, } with the Serpent.
Eve, }
Conscience.
Death.
Labour,
Sicknesse, }
Discontent, } Mutes,
Ignorance, }
with others ; }
Faith.
Hope.
Charity.

THE PERSONS.

Moses.
Divine Justice, Mercie, Wis-
dom, Heavenly Love.
Michael.
Hesperus, the evening-starre.
Lucifer.
Adam.
Eve.
Conscience.
Labour,
Sicknesse, }
Discontent, } Mutes.
Ignorance, }
Fear, }
Death ; }
Faith.
Hope.
Charity.

Paradise Lost.

THE PERSONS

Moses *προλογίζετ*, recounting how he assumed his true bodie ; that it corrupts not, because of his [abode] with God in the mount ; declares the like of Enoch and Eliah ; besides the puritie of the place, that certain pure winds, dews, and clouds, præserved it from corruption ; whence exhorts to the sight of God ; tells they cannot see Adam in the state of innocence by reason of thire sin.

Justice, }
Mercie, } debating what should become of Man, if he fall.
Wisdome, }

ACT II.

Heavenly Love.

Evening-Starre.

Chorus sing the marriage song, and describe Paradise.

ACT III.

Lucifer contriving Adam's ruine.

Chorus fears for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall.

ACT IV.

Adam, }
Eve, } fallen.

Conscience cites them to God's examination.

Chorus bewailes, and tells the good, Adam hath lost.

ACT V.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise: presented by an Angel
with

Labour,
Grief,
Hatred,
Envie,
Warre,
Famine,
Pestilence,
Sicknesse,
Discontent,
Ignorance,
Fear;

Mutes, to whom he gives thire names; likewise
Winter, Heat, Tempest, &c.

Death, entered into the world.

Faith,
Hope,
Charity, } comfort him, and instruct him.

Chorus briefly concludes.



The next sketch, as Dr. Johnson has remarked, seems to have attained more maturity; and is entitled

Adam unparadis'd.

The Angel Gabriel, either descending or entering; shewing, since the globe was created, his frequency as much on Earth as in Heaven; describes Paradise. Next, the Chorus, shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from God; and withall expressing his desire to see and know more concerning this excellent and new creature, Man. The Angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of the Chorus; and, desired by them, relates what he knew of Man; as the creation of Eve, with thire love and marriage ^c.

After this, Lucifer appears after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge upon Man. The Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he departs; whereat the Chorus sing of the battell and victory in Heaven against him and his accomplices: as before, after the first Act, was sung a hymn of the Creation ^d.

Heer again may appear Lucifer, relating and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of Man. Man next, and Eve, having by this time bin seduc't by the Serpent, appears confusedly cover'd with leaves. Conscience, in a shape, accuses him. Justice cites him to the place, whither Jehovah called for him. In the mean while, the Chorus entertains the stage, and is informed, by some Angel, [of] the manner of his fall ^e.

Heer the Chorus bewails Adam's fall. Adam then and Eve returne, and accuse one another; but especially Adam layes the blame to his wife; is stubborn in his offence. Justice appears; reasons with him, convinces him. The Chorus admonishes Adam, and bids him beware Lucifer's example of impenitence ^f.

^c It appears plain, in the next paragraph, that Milton intended to have marked the division of the Acts in this sketch, as well as in the preceding. Peck has divided them; and closes the first Act with Adam and Eve's love &c. See his *Mem. of Milton*, 1740, p. 40.

^d End of the second Act.

^e End of the third Act.

^f End of the

fourth Act.

The Angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise ; but, before, causes to pass before his eyes, in shapes, a mask of all the evils of this life and world. He is humbl'd, relents, dispaïres. At last appears Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah ; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity ; instructs him. He repents ; gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The Chorus briefly concludes §.

Compare this with the former draught ^h.

§ End of the fifth Act.

^h The reader may compare the allegorical characters, and their offices, in this and the preceding draught, with those in the Italian drama by Andreini ; of which an ample account has been given in *The Inquiry into the Origin of Paradise Lost*.

Phillips, the nephew of Milton, has told us, that *Paradise Lost* was first designed for a tragedy, and that in the fourth book of the Poem "there are ten verses, which, several years before the Poem was begun, were shewn to me, and some others, as designed for the very beginning of the said tragedy." *Life &c.* 1694, p. xxxv. These verses are the opening of Satan's celebrated address to the Sun. "O thou, that with surpassing glory crown'd, &c."

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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